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Vocational Rehabilitation for Disabled Public Assistance Recipients

Understanding and Fighting Poverty

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Intramural Research Division

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The Economist and Aspects of Social Welfare Research

Helen O. Nicol

What the economist contributes to social welfare research follows largely from how he sees society's economic and social objectives and how he conceives of his role as an adviser to policymakers or as a policymaker himself. My purpose here is to describe some of the aspects of social welfare research to which economists are contributing ideas and methods and to show where these ideas and methods differ from those of other social scientists because of different emphases in objectives, principles, techniques, and ways of evaluating outcomes. One of my points is that closer communication among the various social scientists concerned with social welfare research, touched off by a greater attempt on their part to understand each other's concepts and predilections, will benefit not only research scientists but also national economic and social planning for the greater welfare of the people of the United States. Another purpose is to discuss some of the as yet unresolved issues in evaluating new types of publicly visible research experiments.

Much of the analytical approach of research economists is based on highly abstract and mathematical models that often fail to reflect the dynamically changing and adapting social and economic forces shaping our society. "Of all social scientists, economists have made the most extensive and significant use of formal deductive analysis (sometimes but not always mathematical) in their researches. Abstract models of economic phenomena serve both as approximate descriptions of some real-world phenomena, and as normative patterns from which to measure real-world departures."[1] But some of their work is now entering an experimental phase where their ideas and concepts are being tested in the administrative political and bureaucratic setting of real-life situations, characterized by an interplay of conflicting disciplines–economics, sociology, social work, psychology, political science, and public administration.

Research economists are concerned with observing a large number of economic and social variables, with analyzing and interpreting data collected, and with developing the most effective instruments for measuring and evaluating the data to arrive at conclusions of general validity. As policy advisers, economists must be pragmatic and select those conclusions that satisfy the fiscal and political restrictions imposed on the system.

The economist's concept of choice influences his rational evaluation of social problems, based on his perception that "there are always alternatives, that they have costs as well as benefits, and that there are scientific procedures available to assist the making of choices."[2] Specifically, the economist must weigh the contributions of various courses of action against the competing and sometimes colliding objectives of economic and social policy within the perimeter of fiscal and administrative feasibility, in the hope of reconciling divergent considerations in a political decision.[3]

However the economic and social objectives of society are defined at any point in time, the economist may give priority to increasing economic growth, reducing unemployment, containing inflationary price rises to bring about relative price stability, or to moving closer to equity in income distribution for the ultimate purpose of alleviating poverty on the one hand and preventing the excess concentration of wealth and resulting monopoly power on the other. In other words, the social objectives that reflect the economist's deep social concern consist of greater efficiency in allocating resources (reducing structural imbalances), wider equity in the distribution of goods and services (reducing poverty), and sustained economic stability (reducing

Dr. Nicol is an economist in the Division of Intramural Research, Office of Research, Demonstrations, and Training.

both unemployment and inflation).[4] These objectives are interrelated; if attained they would have multiple cross-benefits for society.

In social welfare research the economist's contribution is in method, in clarifying the objectives of various programs, and in identifying the issues for society as a whole. He must focus his attention on those troublesome social and economic problems that most directly and imminently affect the poor—not only the most obvious—their lack of money—but also their lack of jobs, resources (good health, education, training, and experience), and ability to help themselves.

It is not surprising, therefore, that innovative monetary concepts dealing with poverty as a social welfare issue and offering a substitute for the public assistance system have been developed by the economists and then have been debated by other social scientists and refined in the exchange. This is true of the negative income tax (or a guaranteed annual income), children's allowances (or family allowances), manpower training, guaranteed jobs, and the guaranteed annual wage (a concept developed by trade union economists).[5] It is also true of the Administration's Family Assistance Plan, as submitted to the Congress last year.[6]

The economist forges some of the analytical tools, other social scientists forge their own; all of them examine the new concepts in the context of their own professional value systems. However, economists and other social scientists, neither separately nor together, determine the final decisions concerning the adoption of the new concepts as national programs. The best they can hope to do is to influence the direction of the ultimate decisions. Such decisions, of course, will result from the balancing of political considerations. The role of economists and other social scientists in raising the intellectual issues within the conceptual framework of their own disciplines, exploring alternative methods, and studying people's responses to and attitudes toward, for example, welfare policy, wage policy, or employment policy, does, of course, help shape the political decisions in social welfare.[7]

It was during the Great Depression of the 1930's that American economists started to concentrate on the problem of seemingly intractable poverty in the United States, and it was from that experience, which proved shattering, that they began to develop research tools to deal with it. But in those early days their concern was with the relationships among economic aggregates such as the insufficiency of aggregate demand (the total demand available for all products of the industrial system) that failed to bring about full employment. Their next concern was the management of a full-employment economy in wartime and its stable transition to peacetime, having in mind the ultimate goal of attaining rapid economic growth combined with price stability. This line of inquiry led to research concerning national incomes and national accounts and the expectation that fiscal policy or monetary policy would solve income inequality through income redistribution.[8] The question of the performance of the economic system was not otherwise raised.

In the 1950's many thoughtful and concerned persons were aroused when the problem of "modern poverty" amidst our increasingly affluent society was brought back into focus.[9] Economists today recognize that, though general unemployment may be at tolerably low levels, specific (structural) unemployment may be intolerable: that is, the unemployment or underemployment of people who are undereducated and underskilled, who do not meet the demands of a labor force centered on technology, who cannot accommodate culturally and otherwise to the requirements of the urban-industrial system. Economists also recognize the need to solve the additional problems of matching job vacancies where they exist in tight industrial labor markets with persons seeking jobs—the unemployed and the underemployed in economically distressed communities, whether urban ghettos or stagnant rural areas. As the continued unequal distribution of income and wealth creates special social problems, the economist is compelled to indicate where research is necessary concerning social change and where concrete problems must be attacked and resolved.

The methods of economic research

In his methods the economist is numbers-minded. His tools of trade are statistics, accounting, advanced mathematics, and management techniques such as systems analysis and operations research. In using them he is aided by the new computer technology. Statistics on the employed, the unemployed, and persons not in the labor force, in the aggregate, by personal characteristics (sex, age, ethnicity, race, occupation, and income class), and for specific labor markets provide some of the data essential for an evaluation of basic human needs, both individual and family, and for an assessment of the relative income position of people in their communities.

Theoretical research in economics uses mathematical methods, builds formal models, and develops other analytical approaches to condense complex problems to simple sets of parameters and variables that can be manipulated to fit different conceptual sets of condi-

tions. It is in theoretical model building that the economist at present makes a special contribution to social welfare research. By applying his techniques, the economist establishes a monetary evaluation of alternative methods suitable for attacking economic-social problems. He does this by relating economic needs to available sources of funds, by measuring "tradeoffs"–as between jobs and price stability or between wages and living costs–or by evaluating inputs against outputs in terms of the "balancing of costs and benefits at the margins of policy adjustment."[10] Though other social scientists may be mainly concerned with the effectiveness of certain measures without intrinsically worrying about their costs, the economist puts a high value on efficiency in terms of dollar returns. He will try to balance in some optimal way the most socially desirable outcome of a measure with the least cost to the taxpayer. One way to do this is to discount estimated social costs on the basis of market price.[11]

There are, of course, practical limitations to this method because it is not always possible to balance "all of the perceived advantages of a given alternative" and "all of the disadvantages of that alternative" perceived as costs.[12] In addition, economic theory has as yet failed to develop precise tools for measuring social outcomes such as qualitative or distributional effects that are not reducible to a dollars-and-cents evaluation. It is in this aspect of research that economists are learning from other social scientists, recognizing that where social benefits are high, dollar inputs may not be relevant for any particular program, at least in the short run. The great difficulty here for economic planning results from the awareness of the political economist that the funding of any program may depend on year-to-year appropriations and that decisions about appropriations are often based on political as well as economic or social considerations.

In measuring social outcomes, the economist's method is not necessarily compatible with that of other social scientists, because he tends to look for scientific precision where such precision has no real basis. In a social experiment requiring systematic research evaluation, for example, economists are now struggling to develop the most suitable methodology for program evaluation. An opinion widely shared by economists is that, up to now, evaluations of innovative programs have fallen short of the standard that many observers believe possible within the disciplines of the social sciences.[13] In job training programs, for example, research evaluation results have been disappointing. The reason may be that the programs are concerned with the efficiency of investment in human capital–a relatively new area of empirical research. They are not only concerned with easily identified economic goals such as an increase in income or securing employment but also with the attitudes of people or the goals of civic participation–objectives that cannot be evaluated precisely. Other social welfare programs are often concerned with the effectiveness of the large-scale delivery of services such as in model neighborhoods of model cities and the implications for effect on the neighborhood as well as on the community. But these programs may simultaneously include experiments to determine which service programs are most easily administered and most effectively operated at the least cost.

Economists who have worked with the particular problem of sorting out identifiable outcomes from a multiplicity of variables have generally come to the conclusion (now being tested in small-scale experiments) that such economic-social experiments should be evaluated through a rigorously designed research model suitable for statistical testing. Such a model, it is expected, will permit identifying a range in the values of the variables making up the program inputs (but circumscribed by the political and fiscal constraints of a real-life situation). Finally, scientific evaluation of the responses of people to different kinds of treatment requires the use of control groups that should be fully representative of the experimental population and that may or may not receive treatment.[14] Comparing, then, the effects of the measures taken on the experimental population with whatever changes have taken place in the control group will help determine the success of the different kinds of treatment.

Issues in research evaluation

The most difficult problem in evaluating the response of people to an infusion of money from an income maintenance experiment–be it negative income tax, children's allowances, or any other form of public subsidy to selected groups of persons–lies in attempting to read out the expected consequences to the beneficiaries themselves, as well as to the neighborhood, the community, or even the Nation.[15] The social scientist who is not an economist using this evaluation process looks for changes in human behavior and decision making. The economist's theory of behavior, however, may be quite different from one based on the behavioral dynamics of the psychologist or the sociocultural concepts of the sociologist. His interest is not human behavior, per se, but the behavior of economic variables

as they relate to people–the "pecuniary calculus"–based on the assumption that the individual person wishes to "maximize his economic position." On the whole, the economist is suspicious of the "soft data" used to buttress conclusions in the behavioral sciences.[16] The value scales for such evaluation, however, can often be replaced by a tentative use of the economist's "opportunity costs"–or the alternative costs to society if certain measures are not taken.

The latter method has particular applicability to evaluating rehabilitative programs for socially disadvantaged persons. The rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents for employment in the regular labor force, for example, may be evaluated through a balance sheet setting the costs of training the individual delinquent plus the eventual tax returns to society from his earnings in the labor force against the alternative cost of keeping an unrehabilitated delinquent, who may commit a felony, in prison, perhaps over most of his lifetime. As the alternative cost per delinquent may run to more than $5,000 per year, or over $200,000 for a life-time (at current prices), a single expenditure of $6,000 or $8,000 to train him for employment would have substantial cost-benefit advantages in the long run. Of course, the probability of a juvenile delinquent later becoming a felon will also have to be taken into account.

The economist can also reach empirical program evaluations in the short run by using theoretical norms to strike a balance between benefits and costs.[17]

Though costs may be narrowly viewed as dollar outlays, benefits may include the distributional effects to specific groups that cannot be easily evaluated for cost effectiveness. Thus, the economist's "hard-data" method can be profitably meshed with the "soft-data" method of other social scientists. Once the social effectiveness of outcomes has been determined, a range of values can be established within which efficiency alternatives may be applied. This method is useful for research models designed to renew the physical environment of inner cities, as well as to rehabilitate the people residing in inner cities, such as under the Model Cities Program of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Issues in income maintenance research

In the broad field of income maintenance, the economist works very closely with other social scientists. Income maintenance in a narrow sense refers to public subsidies paid to people to sustain them at some economically desirable level–usually at some minimum level arbitrarily determined on the basis of economic and political considerations. The right to receive such income support may arise from a statutory insurance principle–such as Social Security benefits, unemployment insurance, and workmen's compensation; a statute based on the principle of return for services–such as veterans' benefits; or a statute based on the principle of moral right–such as public assistance or general assistance or its equivalent. The principle of moral rights is the weakest because the statutory provisions are usually less explicit.

Attempts to improve income maintenance for people receiving public assistance have led to studies of new ways of helping all poor people. Here, economists are designing income maintenance models and developing experimental projects to demonstrate the operational, economic, and political feasibility, as well as the cost effectiveness, of new income maintenance methods to help policymakers arrive at rational decisions in designing national income maintenance legislation. Economists are selecting evaluation measures to estimate the economic effects of these new methods on the individual recipient, families, the community, or the metropolitan area and the income redistribution effects, by geographic areas and in the aggregate, on the production of goods and services, the price structure, the general price level, and economic growth.

However, sociologists, psychologists, and social workers, who are equally concerned with the expected outcomes of such experiments, raise their inquiry broadly to the level of the social, biological-demographic, and psychological results flowing from the monetary strategies used. They attempt to measure changes in the behavioral, attitudinal, and other interpersonal relationships of experimental persons and families and in their interaction with their environment. In the social science professions such as sociology, anthropology, psychology, and social work, developmental philosophy is generally centered on the person or the family. The social outcomes sought rely on concepts such as self-realization, fulfillment of individual potential, or socialization. These concepts are still strange to the economist's thinking. He may question their validity, because they cannot be reduced to cost-benefit evaluation measures and often take considerably more time than economic measures to show identifiable results.[18]

The difference between the experimental methods used by the economist and other kinds of social scientists largely explains why the economist prefers the negative income tax system, with its built-in work-incen-

tive features, its monetary efficiency through use of a poverty standard, its orientation toward helping the poor to regular employment, and its relatively short-term and visible positive results. Other social scientists may prefer a system of children's allowances, with its emphasis on long-term advancement and the welfare of all children without great concern about the parent's work status or the monetary efficiency of the system.

Many economists still suffer from the preconceptions of their classical education: they believe man makes rational decisions on the basis of how he perceives his economic advantage in a given situation, on the assumption that man is rational, that his economic advantage is clearly apparent, and that he perceives the advantage. In modern economic theory the basic assumptions are simpler. They require only that a man confronted by two or more choices know which he prefers; he need not be rational, and he need not even perceive his economic advantage, unless specific price tags are attached to the choices. He may simply seek his optimal position on the basis of his preferences.

These concepts concerning the decisions man makes about earning a living underline the economist's uncomplicated conviction that properly designed money incentives will produce labor force supply. They form the basis for discussions about what negative tax rate ("earnings disregard" is the term used in the 1967 Amendments to the Social Security Act) will provide the highest motivation for a person to look for a job or to keep a job if he is also guaranteed a basic subsidy. The question is sometimes put thus: Suppose a man is guaranteed an annual income equal to 80 percent, or even 100 percent, of his present earnings at a hard, dirty job, will he prefer to keep working or will he stop working partly or completely? Or the question may be this: What part of his earnings should a man be allowed to keep over and above the guaranteed income to encourage him to continue working or looking for a job? For example, the basic guaranteed income for a four-person family proposed by the Administration's Family Assistance Plan is $1,600 a year if nobody works. The earnings disregard is $720 a year for work-related expenses, plus 50 percent of any additional earnings until total family income reaches $3,920 a year.[19]

The question for research is this: Will this formula yield the optimal work incentive or will another formula—perhaps one resting on a different base or having a different earnings disregard—be more effective?[20]

This question is the concern of the research economists who have designed various small income maintenance experiments of a negative income tax structure now in operation in a few localities. The experiments have the objective of measuring the labor force response of employable low-income persons (some of them public assistance mothers) under various basic income guarantees, earnings disregards, and supportive manpower treatments. Additional objectives are to measure the economic impact on the families as made apparent from their spending, saving, and indebtedness patterns; the economic consequences for the neighborhood or community, and the social outcomes resulting from an infusion of money. The social outcomes to be studied include family formation and stability, occupational and geographic mobility, school performance of the children, family participation in civic affairs, the health records of its members, and many others.

In addition, the experimenters hope to provide administrative guidelines for the technical problems that would have to be solved to make such an income maintenance system efficient if applied nationwide.

Basically, the evaluation of an income maintenance experiment has two features: a cost-benefit evaluation, testing efficiency by dollars spent as cash transfers to the families included in the sample and as administrative unit costs; and an evaluation of the social benefits to the experimental families and, in a broader sense, to society. An evaluation of the social benefits may actually be more significant than the rather narrow accounting outcomes of cost-benefit calculations. The cost-benefit evaluation method raises these questions: How much will such a program cost if implemented nationwide? Can we afford it in the light of national priorities and budgetary outlays? However, this type of cost-accounting and cost-benefit principles as applied to economic and social experiments has been critized as being too narrow and too pedantic[21] as an evaluation method. As a matter of principle, the criticism is valid. But in defense of the Government economists designing such experiments and their evaluation, it must be said that income maintenance experiments, as well as the national program, are by their nature controversial because the concept involves cash transfers from general revenues (collected from taxpayers) to people who rarely pay income taxes and who are too often judged by different standards.

Income maintenance experiments present still other issues. They may operate in a politically unstable, sometimes incendiary climate, where local factions may compete if not actually fight for the right to make decisions about the choice of the experimental families because of the "money power" they believe to be

attached to those local organizations that are fortunate enough to be involved in the experiment. Moreover, staff members at all levels of government—Federal, State, and local—are involved in either sponsoring or giving financial support or administering the experiment. If the experiment is located in a model city neighborhood, officials of the Model Cities Program will also be involved. Then, there is the principal investigator—usually from a nearby State university or research institute, selected by State and Federal officials. All of these people will have to arrive at balanced compromise decisions about how best to mount, operate, and evaluate the experiment, even though their objectives, methods, and philosophies may differ.

This type of experiment imposes severe discipline and considerable restrictions on the Federal research economist ultimately responsible for the success of the project. Under legislation authorizing the research and the appropriation for it, he will also be accountable to the Congress and through the head of his agency or department to the White House. Thus, his freedom in designing, operating, and evaluating the experiment may be severely circumscribed. Rarely are other kinds of social scientists in experimental projects exposed to this much public scrutiny; rarely is their work so attractive to the news media because of the human interest involved; rarely are they subjected to so much questioning to protect the taxpayer or held in by such political sensitivity.

Evaluating social benefits

In spite of his preoccupation with efficiency and readily measurable outcomes in dollars and cents, the economist is aware of the social benefit method but uncomfortable about how to use it. For him it raises this question: Will such a program, if adopted nationwide, make us a better society, a more civilized and compassionate society?

For example, the economist may not ask, as other kinds of social scientists will, whether it might be socially more desirable for a woman who is raising children in a fatherless home to decline employment if she chooses, even if she could increase her income by working and thus reduce her dependency on a public subsidy. Yet, the economist realizes that such a woman, to be able to work, will need satisfactory day-care facilities for her children, may need training, and may even have to have a job created for her. He may question the economic efficiency of having her work outside the home by the cost-benefit outcomes and be looking for ways to increase the ratio of benefits to cost, if not in the short run, then in the long run. In the short run, he reasons, the reduction in public payments to her because of her earnings will not usually cover the public outlay for training her and for providing day-care services for her children. For example, day-care outlays for five children may run from $7,500 to $10,000 a year, through the mother may earn less than $3,000 a year. In the long run, she will, presumably, eventually work her way to family self-support. How soon she does become independent depends on the type of job she can obtain (unskilled or skilled), the number and ages of her children, the state of her health, and the resources she may have such as education, experience, and ability. Here, as in other aspects of income maintenance, research will have to clarify the objectives and indicate how effective and efficient it is to have public assistance mothers work and for what type of mother or family situation returns are the greatest, from both an economic and a social standpoint, but particularly from that of the welfare of her children. And the welfare of the children may be considerably improved if they receive high quality day care as is intended under the Family Assistance Plan, where day care will be more than custodial. Yet "welfare of children," like "quality of life" or "self-realization," unless broken down into specific variables to which prices can be attached, cannot be translated into precise economic terms.

Although "attitude research" for the social psychologist has made rapid advances in recent years and is moving closer to scientific exactitude, it still depends largely on arbitrary value scales that may lack comparability from project to project and, therefore, attitude research models may not be useful to replicate as a basis for a national program. This type of research investigates the variables influencing the formation of attitudes, changes in attitudes, and the effects of attitudes on individual behavior.[22] The problem is that it does not "fit" into the more rigorous conceptual framework of economic research. Results in attitude research still depend too much on the skill and competency of the investigator to permit conclusions of general validity.

The economist's questions remain turned toward cost effectiveness, although he may be increasingly frustrated by the limitations of this method.[23] For example, in the attempt to reform the public assistance system to bring about greater equity, as proposed by the Family Assistance Plan, the following research questions have part or complete economic answers:

- What would be the proper needs standard for any State or city (taking into account the consumer price index or a family budget)?

- What could a State be expected to contribute to public assistance expenditures (taking into account its fiscal capacity, the structure of its tax base, and its revenue effort)?

- What should be the proper relation between the public subsidy payments to a family without earnings and the income of the family whose one earner receives minimum wages or is being paid at going low-skill wage rates (taking into account that, if subsidy payments alone exceed usually low-wage earnings, a strong work disincentive might be created for the working poor)?

- What dollar value should be imputed to social services freely provided to public assistance recipients (taking into account that the working poor may not receive such services as medical and dental assistance, day care, and legal aid and that the lack of these may create problems of equity)?

- How many families of unemployed men in the United States would be eligible for an aid to dependent children-unemployed father (AFDC-UF) program if such a program were universally adopted, and what would be the cost of such a program (taking into account that "unemployed" can be an elastic concept if able-bodied persons of working ages outside the labor force and underemployed persons in depressed economic areas or urban ghettos are included)?

- Will the continued technological changes in agriculture that are displacing poor Southern Negroes and white persons and causing them to migrate to the cities impose further stress on local economies? How can the Family Assistance system adjust to such future demands on it (taking into account that only great financial efforts would alleviate the situation)?

- What would be the total effect on our society of a massive transfer of cash to, perhaps, 25 million persons, and to what extent would such a transfer aggravate price inflation?

- What would be the effect of a national income maintenance program on the level and industrial composition of economic activity in a particular community, in metropolitan areas, or in the Nation as a whole?[24]

Clearly, income maintenance research has to be directed to a host of unanswered questions, not all of them economic. The need is for well-designed experiments with scientifically developed, rigorous research evaluation to provide results valid for national programs. It will take many experiments of different types, conducted in various parts of the country with different groups of people, before we have sufficient answers to advise the policymakers designing legislative proposals with some degree of certainty what the outcomes of a national program will be.

Two fundamental research problems challenge the research analyst. The first has to do with the attempt to measure in an economic and social enclave the effects of a money strategy that would have greatly diffused effects in a national program. Thus, it is difficult to estimate the effects of the Family Assistance Plan on the consumption, production, investment, productivity, employment, prices, and economic growth of the United States. Yet policymakers want to know the answers to these questions. The second major research problem has to do with the unavoidable Hawthorne effect[25] as it would influence, say, an evaluation of income maintenance measures on a carefully stratified sample of families who know from the outset that they are in an experiment with a definite time limit and that they are under close observation. This knowledge is assumed to introduce some bias into the families' spending, saving, and indebtedness patterns and the social consequences of these patterns in a way that a national program would not, because under a national program the families affected would be assured relatively long-term financial aid if they need it and relative anonymity while they need it.

Research on work incentive

A basic research question for economists and other social scientists centers on a person's motivation to work. The success of an income-maintenance program of the negative income-tax type aimed at helping people out of poverty depends on the effectiveness of the work-incentive (earnings disregard) formula built into the system. The hypothesis is that, if poor people are given the opportunity to increase family income by working and being able to keep some portion of their earnings in addition to their grant, they will do so. It is made under the assumption (which is not always realistic) that "suitable" jobs can be found for them. Unfortunately, the research findings we have are not enough to support this hypothesis in general and to indicate in particular for what types of people and under what circumstances it is valid.

The concept of work incentive requires a multidisciplinary research method. There are few guidelines. In general, research so far points to the conclusion that persons who are highly motivated to work will look for jobs and will work even if money incentives are low and those who are not so motivated cannot be induced to work even if money incentives are high. These indications raise questions about what influences a person's motivation. Randomly, it could be the combined effect of a person's health and ambition, the attractiveness of a particular job, family responsibilities, the job environment (physical conditions and relations with employer, foreman, coworkers, and the like), past employment experience, the physical or mental demands of the job, advancement opportunities, the need for

money, the wage level (no wages so low they would not help support a large family), commuting distance from home, and still others.

Work incentive, of course, may be an irrelevant concept for people in those depressed areas where there simply are no jobs; or it may be a weak concept where jobs are irregular, insecure, and usually of short duration. It may also be a weak concept for persons who consistently fail to obtain jobs they apply for, whether because of discrimination against race, sex, or age or because of lack of qualifications for available jobs. Unemployment rates for geographic areas and data on nonparticipation in the labor force by able-bodied persons indicate clearly where such imbalances exist.

Another hypothesis is that work incentive is different for men and women and for persons in low-skill occupations as compared with those in skilled occupations. For a man work is presumed to confer status, dignity, and self-respect and to thus enhance his manhood. This concept may not be valid for men in low-skill occupations—the marginally employable and those in deadend, low-wage jobs such as laborers, carwashers, dishwashers, pressers, janitors, busboys, and porters. Work to them may simply be the alternative to destitution or even starvation. Money work incentives for many poor women with large family responsibilities may also be weak. Work for them may not confer dignity; rather it may raise feelings of guilt because of cultural and traditional attitudes toward leaving children with strangers. This is particularly true when the mother has the alternative of staying home with her children, living on a public assistance grant only, rather than going out of the home to work to supplement the grant by earnings. Moreover, statistics on women in the labor force show that the women who work the least over their lifetimes are those with the least education and the most children. This leads to the hypothesis that a program of some form of guaranteed income would have this result: women in poor families who are secondary family earners or who are heads of families may choose the reduced but secure guaranteed grant by forfeiting earnings from a job, provided the grant levels were sufficiently attractive to them. This hypothesis needs to be tested.

Several small-scale experiments concerned with helping public assistance mothers to jobs have not shown sufficiently conclusive results to permit generalizations. A research project is now underway to test the effectiveness of the income-exemption provision of the 1967 Amendments to the Social Security Act, in high employment and low employment labor markets, as well as varying grants under the aid to dependent children (AFDC) program. The purpose of this study is to provide some clues to the work incentive of public assistance mothers under different sets of circumstances.[26]

In general, income maintenance research is almost unthinkable without close attention to work motivation and the particular money incentive under which a given set of parameters becomes effective. Whether a community can develop enough jobs for all persons who want them is another crucial research question. To answer it will require a determination of how many job vacancies can be matched to people's skill and educational levels and how new jobs can be created to help absorb the unemployed, the underemployed, and young persons looking for their first jobs. Here again, economists and other social scientists must combine their capabilities to arrive at practical answers.

Current income maintenance experiments

A small number of income-maintenance projects, supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), are now in operation. These projects concern graduated work-incentive (negative income tax) type grants and are attempting to measure the labor market response in cities to men, the employable heads of poor families, given different negative tax treatments (basic payments and earnings disregards). The sample population is largely dispersed and located in a small number of towns in New Jersey and one town in Pennsylvania. OEO is now supporting two similar experiments in rural areas of Iowa and North Carolina.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is sponsoring two experiments, now in the design stage, in model neighborhoods of Seattle and Gary, to pretest some of the economic, social, and administrative aspects of the Family Assistance Plan. Specifically, they will test the work response and employability of poor men and women who are heads of families (including families receiving public assistance), given different kinds of manpower treatment. They will also test the technical and administrative problems that may arise in a national program. In addition, social outcomes such as these will be evaluated: the effect of cash transfer and of supportive manpower and other services on the well-being of the families in the study, including family stability and the welfare of the children.

The research analysts concerned with these experiments will also study the occupational and geographic mobility of the families. The experiments will be of

relatively short duration—3 to 4 years—which means that it may be difficult to evaluate demographic social effects that normally take longer than this amount of time to fully develop.

A special challenge to social scientists arises from the dynamic environment in which these experiments take place. For example, early operation of the Family Assistance Plan might prejudice the research outcomes of the experiments. To some extent this would also be true of major local economic upheavals such as a drastically changing labor market. Large exogenous effects on income maintenance experiments will test the ingenuity and adaptiveness of the research economist and his colleagues in other social sciences in safeguarding the validity of their findings by properly adjusting the design and evaluation processes to take account of these changes.

Here, as in other aspects of income maintenance research, economists and other social scientists will need to mesh their efforts to arrive at balanced conclusions that provide reliable guidelines to the policymakers.

The task ahead

As different social scientists work together toward social progress, the intellectual gap that has traditionally separated them is visibly narrowing, but perhaps not rapidly enough. It has been said, for example, that a disappointing performance of the economic system may have its origin in failure to recognize social forces and social structures essential to economic welfare. There are no universal measurements permitting an evaluation of the economic effects of education, health, housing, or other social components; and there is no way of determining to what extent levels of living or human capital resources are dependent on the existing social structure, the organization of production, and the characteristics of the social components themselves.

The great difficulty in properly assessing the rate of progress of changing social structures in the economy, not only for industrial nations like the United States but also for developing nations as well, is that it is not sufficient to judge its contributions quantitatively as the economist would do (number of new dwellings, school buildings, hospitals, welfare offices, and people served) but qualitatively (condition of dwellings; quality of education, health care, or social services; and increased well-being of the people expressed as an improvement in the quality of life).[26]

For this as yet largely uncharted territory, the economist and other social scientists must build bridges between their methodologies, must complement the analytical tools of their professions, and must strive for a compromise in their sometimes identical, sometimes parallel, but often colliding objectives. Each must learn to understand the other's conceptual framework, perceive his biases, appreciate his methods. Social welfare is not merely an economic idea, not merely a social idea—it is both. Only when economists and other social scientists fully recognize this fact will they arrive at that unity of purpose necessary to a solution of our economic and social problems.

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[1] *"Basic Research in the Sciences of Behavior," Social Science Research Council* Items, *vol. 23, No. 4, Dec. 1969, p. 52. (Abridgment of a chapter in "Report by the Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey Committee,")*

[2] *Harry G. Johnson, "Economics and Public Policy. I. The Economic Approach to Social Questions,"* The Public Interest, *Summer 1968, p. 71.*

[3] *Walter W. Heller,* New Dimensions of Political Economy *(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 17. See also Hugh S. Norton,* The Role of the Economist in Government Policy-Making: A Study of Economic Advice Since 1920 *(Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1969), passim.*

[4] *Burton A. Weisbrod, "Benefits of Manpower Programs: Theoretical and Methodological Issues," paper given at the North American Conference on Cost-Benefit Analysis of Manpower Policies, May 14-15, 1969 (Wisconsin Center, University of Wisconsin at Madison), pp. 2-3.*

[5] *For a discussion of these concepts, see Helen O. Nicol, "Guaranteed Income Maintenance: Another Look at the Debate,"* Welfare in Review, *June-July 1967, pp. 1-13.*

[6] *Incorporated in the Family Assistance Act of 1969, H.R. 14173, 91/1. "A Bill to authorize a family assistance plan providing basic benefits to low-income families with children, to provide incentives for employment and training to improve the capacity for employment of members of such families, to achieve greater uniformity of treatment of recipients under the Federal-State public assistance programs and to otherwise improve such programs, and for other purposes." (Oct. 3, 1969.)*

[7] *See Karl Kaysen, "Economic and Public Policy. II. Model-makers and Decision-makers: Economists and the Public Policy,"* The Public Interest, *Summer 1968, p. 80; and George Katona, "On the Function of Behavioral Theory and Behavioral Research in Economics,"* The American Economic Review, *Mar. 1968, pp. 146-149.*

[8] *Gerhard Colm,* Essays in Public Finance and Fiscal Policy *(New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).*

[9] *John Kenneth Galbraith,* The Affluent Society *(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958). See, in particular, ch. XX: "The Regulation of Aggregate Demand," and ch. XXIII: "The New Position of Poverty."*

[10] *Walter W. Heller, op cit., p. 5.*

[11] *See Kenneth Arrow, "The Social Discount Rate," paper given at the North American Conference on Cost-Benefit Analysis of Manpower Policies (see footnote 4).*

[12] *Mancur Olson, Jr., "Economics and Public Policy. III. Economics, Sociology, and the Best of All Possible Worlds,"* The Public Interest, *Summer 1968, p. 99. Dr. Olson's perceptive essay on the boundaries that separate economics from sociology, psychology, and political science points out that this issue is at the center of some debates in Washington about past and prospective decisions on public policy and is of "inescapable intellectual importance" (see p. 96).*

[13] *Glen C. Cain and Robinson G. Hollister, "Evaluating Manpower Programs for the Disadvantaged," North American Conference on Cost-Benefit Analysis of Manpower Policies, pp.*

1-2 (see footnote 4). This essay is much broader in contents than its title suggests; it presents, in effect, guidelines for evaluation strategies and for measuring evaluation results in any structured experiment involving treatments and research outcomes of treatments on selected population groups, be they manpower trainees, welfare recipients, or selected low-income groups.

[14] *Ibid, p. 2.*

[15] *Helen O. Nicol, "Alternative Forms of Income Maintenance,"* New Dimensions in Research and Statistics *(Washington: Social and Rehabilitation Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare). (Proceedings of the Eighth Workshop Meeting in Public Welfare Research and Statistics, Washington, D.C., Aug. 11-14, 1968.)*

[16] *Kenneth E. Boulding,* The Skills of the Economist *(Cleveland: Howard Allen, 1958), pp. 228-29. Economists are also often suspicious of the use of small samples of data for evaluation purposes. Yet empirical research has shown that judiciously selected and stratified samples may yield more reliable results than large random universes of programs. (Cf. Cain and Hollister, op. cit., p. 49, footnote 19.)*

[17] *Burton A. Weisbrod, "Conceptual Issues in Evaluating Training Programs,"* Monthly Labor Review, *Oct. 1966, pp. 1,091-1,097. See also Edward A. Suchman,* Evaluative Research: Principles and Practice in Public Service and Social Action Programs *(New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967), passim. The great difficulty of objectively evaluating public programs that are by their nature highly visible and politically sensitive, if not controversial, has been discussed by Walter Williams. ("The Politics of Evaluation: The Case of Head Start,"* The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Sept. 1969, pp. 118-132; and "Developing an Evaluation Strategy for a Social Action Agency,"* The Journal of Human Resources, *Fall 1969.)*

[18] *Norman Bradburn, Director of the National Opinion Research Center and Professor of Behavioral Sciences, University of Chicago Graduate School of Business, deplores the fact that behavioral scientists do not concern themselves sufficiently with an assessment of the magnitudes of relationships existing among variables, nor the need for research in a real-life situation, nor systematic methodological research. They have, however, had some success in convincing economists that "there is something more to the world than economic variables. It is lamentable, however, that they cannot now come forward with better suggestions regarding the social-psychological variables to be studied." ("Selecting the Questions To Be Asked in Surveys—A Discussion of Five Obstacles to the Selection of Appropriate Questions to Test Social-Psychological Variables,"* Monthly Labor Review, *Jan. 1970, pp. 27-29.)*

[19] The President's Proposals for Welfare Reform and Social Security Amendments *(including draft bills, summaries, and other material transmitted by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Oct. 1969). Committee Reprint, 91/1, Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969).*

[20] The American Paradox, The Report of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs *(Washington: The President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, Nov. 12, 1969).*

[21] *Sar A. Levitan, "Facts, Fancies and Freeloaders in Evaluating Antipoverty Programs,"* Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts, *vol. 4, No. 6, 1969, pp. 13-16. See also his book on the evaluation of OEO programs:* The Great Society's Poor Law—A New Approach to Poverty *(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969).*

[22] *See Marvin E. Shaw and Jack M. Wright,* Scales for Measurement of Attitudes *(New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967), passim.*

[23] *For the group of questions that would be "most interesting" concerning the responses of the people who would receive negative income tax transfers, see G. H. Orcutt and A. G. Orcutt, "Incentive and Disincentive Experimentation for Income Maintenance Policy Purposes,"* The American Economic Review, *Sept. 1968, p. 746. Of 14 questions raised on the effects of the negative income tax, nine are on economic effects and only five on social-biological effects. In contrast to the questions raised by economists, see Herbert J. Gans, "Income Grants and Dirty Work,"* The Public Interest, *Winter 1967, pp. 110-113. For the public assistance point of view, see an analytical study by J. M. Wedemeyer, "Maintenance Standards and Incentives,"* Public Welfare, *Supplement 2:* Challenge to Validity, *prepared by the Technical Assistance Project, American Public Welfare Association, July 1967.*

[24] *For a tentative discussion of many of these issues, see "Issues for Research, Demonstration and Experimentation in Income Maintenance," Report of the Institute on Poverty, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (To be published.)*

[25] *The Hawthorne effect refers to the possibly unexpected response that an experimental treatment may elicit from experimental subjects exposed to sudden attention that may distort the research analyst's inference based on experimental data. (See footnote 22, Orcutt, op. cit., pp. 759-761.)*

[26] *This refers to a longitudinal study of the impact of the 1967 earnings exemption provision of the Social Security Act, as amended, on work response and attitudes of AFDC mothers in 12 cities. The study is sponsored by the Office of Research, Demonstrations, and Training of the Social and Rehabilitation Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.*

[27] *These conceptual difficulties are discussed in* Toward A Social Report, *U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969).*

Vocational Rehabilitation for Disabled Public Assistance Recipients

A Cooperative Demonstration

Elizabeth R. Kramm

Each year since the enactment of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act in 1920, State vocational rehabilitation agencies have been rehabilitating public assistance recipients. Comparable statistics on the number of public assistance recipients rehabilitated before 1961 are not available. In fiscal year 1961, however, 13,528 recipients were rehabilitated. The number rose to 24,475 in fiscal year 1969 (see table 1). During the same period, as shown in the table, the percentage of all disabled persons rehabilitated who were welfare recipients decreased, from roughly 15 percent to 10 percent. Any number of reasons could account for the drop such as accepting proportionately fewer public assistance recipients for rehabilitation or having less success with those referred to the State rehabilitation agencies for rehabilitation services. Regardless of the reasons, the great nationwide increase in the number of public assistance recipients should, by assumption, increase the proportion of disabled poor persons being referred for services and being rehabilitated in the State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program.

The national goal to make rehabilitation services available to more and more disabled needy persons has been coupled with an effort to strengthen cooperative relationships between public welfare and vocational rehabilitation agencies. The 1954 amendments to the National Vocational Rehabilitation Act called for State rehabilitation and welfare agencies to cooperate with each other, and the 1962 public welfare amendments to the Social Security Act emphasized the prevention and rehabilitation functions of public assistance agencies and encouraged State agencies to help individual recipients and recipient families become economically and personally self-sufficient.

Dr. Kramm is a social science research analyst, Division of Intramural Research, Office of Research, Demonstrations, and Training.

In line with these goals, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under its research grants and demonstrations program,[1] made grants between 1963 and 1965 to State agencies to conduct 27 selected demonstration projects. The purpose of the demonstration was to develop and improve professional and administrative methods that would increase the number of disabled public assistance recipients who could earn their living after receiving vocational rehabilitation and associated services provided by cooperating agencies.[2]

This article describes the development of the projects; the kinds of problems staff members from vocational rehabilitation and public assistance agencies met in working together to rehabilitate disabled public assistance recipients; and some of the procedures and methods developed or used by project staff members to overcome these problems. The information presented here was abstracted from 24 of the 27 summary project reports. It gives a composite picture of the range of problems that impede successful rehabilitation. The data are largely subjective in that they reflect the attitudes and observations of the project staff members responsible for preparing them.

Background of the demonstration

The projects were jointly sponsored by State vocational rehabilitation and public welfare agencies having cooperative relationships and able to provide facilities for conducting such projects. The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation established the guidelines and the general outline, purpose, and goals of the demonstration. The broad goals included these:[2]

- To develop systematic methods for identifying and selecting public assistance applicants or recipients potentially in need of vocational rehabilitation.

- To establish and maintain an effective interagency operating pattern for correlating joint vocational rehabilitation and public assistance services.
- To develop adequate medical, social, and vocational rehabilitation services for public assistance cases.
- To identify the medical services that may be especially required for the recipient's vocational rehabilitation and the setting where services can be most effectively provided.
- To provide prompt high quality services through a correlated plan, building toward the greatest possible adjustment, according to individual and family needs and potentials.
- To develop incentives and methods that will motivate recipients to participate in and benefit from project services.
- To complete and analyze project data on the recipients and on the kinds, results, and costs of services provided.
- To evaluate the usefulness, strength, problems, and contributions of project methods and procedures.

Each project developed procedures and methods for accomplishing these goals.

The shape of the projects

Considerable variation existed in the number and types of recipients served, the geographic area in which the projects were established, and the availability of services and facilities in these areas. See table 2. Some served city people, as in Cook County, Ill.; others, rural people, as in Bell and Harlan Counties, Ky.; and still others, both, as in Chittenden County, Vt. Although the number of applicants considered for project services ranged from 181 in San Antonio, Tex., to more than 2,000 in Cook County, Ill., the active caseload, in accordance with the guidelines, never exceeded 50 or 60 recipients for each counselor or caseworker.

Of the kinds of recipients served, the largest group was made up of those receiving aid to families with dependent children (AFDC). Five projects served this group only; five others included AFDC recipients and recipients of aid to the permanently and totally disabled (APTD); others included general assistance (GA) recipients. Though nine projects served persons in all categories of aid, most excluded recipients of old-age assistance (OAA), medical assistance to the aged (MAA), and aid to the blind (AB). Five projects considered new applicants before all others.

Welfare agencies referred about 14,500 disabled applicants and recipients for project services. Roughly a third were accepted. Recipients still being served when the projects ended were transferred to regular vocational rehabilitation programs. Most projects operated for 3 years; the others for 2.

Staffing and staff responsibility

Staffs were small. The State vocational rehabilitation agency provided counseling staff members and consultants and the department of public welfare provided caseworkers and related workers. Both agencies supplied clerical staff members. Each project had a rehabilitation project coordinator or director, from one to five counselors and caseworkers, and one or more part-time medical and psychiatric consultants. Depending on location, emphasis, size, and funds, the projects had medical-social and field consultants, placement specialists, and one or more research consultants or analysts.

Each agency provided the kind of services that it was providing under law and by tradition. Emphasis on the number and kinds of services varied from project to project, according to the needs of the recipients being served. Joint responsibility usually included the free exchange of information between the two agencies, recognition of the different but interdependent role the staff of each agency carried in serving the joint caseload, participation in the staffing of cases, and coordination in efforts to refer applicants not eligible for project services to other community resources. Joint housing was usually provided for project counselors and caseworkers to make interagency communication and planning easier, promote joint interviews or conferences with recipients, and simplify the exchange of information.

Table 1. Number and percent of persons rehabilitated each year in State vocational rehabilitation agencies who were public assistance recipients, United States: 1961-1969

Fiscal year	Rehabilitated persons		
	Total number[1]	Public assistance recipients	
		Number	Percent
1969[2]	237,498	24,475	10.3
1968	205,767	22,640	11.0
1967	173,594	21,451	12.4
1966	154,254	20,155	13.1
1965	134,853	17,176	12.7
1964	119,674	14,976	12.5
1963	110,091	14,541	13.2
1962	102,277	13,625	13.3
1961	92,416	13,528	14.6

[1] *Excludes the number of rehabilitated persons who did not report whether they were receiving public assistance at the time of application for vocational rehabilitation services. The total number of rehabilitated persons given here is, therefore, slightly lower than the actual total number rehabilitated each year.*

[2] *Provisional.*

Source: Division of Statistics and Studies, Rehabilitation Services Administration, Social and Rehabilitation Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Problems in referral

The projects placed major emphasis on developing effective means of identifying and referring disabled recipients for rehabilitation services. The major problems in the referral process centered on the need for methods of determining what constitutes a feasible referral and of obtaining information not available on welfare records on each recipient; staff training in the "field of the other" agency; the mechanics of promptly transferring information from one agency to the other and to agency field staffs; complex organizational structures and agency policies; and movement of cases and malingering recipients. (Irregular case intake sometimes caused periods of overload and slack.)

Staff members sometimes became so involved in their stalled cases they held on longer than necessary for the smooth operation of the "pipeline." This delayed the processing of cases. Recipients who could have taken immediate advantage of project services were made to wait longer than necessary. Staff members in some projects thought that stalled cases should have been sent back to regular caseworkers for routine service and referred again to the projects at a more appropriate time.

Various methods and procedures for identifying and referring cases were developed and used. No single "best" procedure was applicable to all. Only a few projects built a research component into the referral and selection process that could be used to predict success in rehabilitation.

Through a wide range of assessments of the medical, educational, social, and psychological attributes of the recipients, research staff members of one project devised "success" criteria models for use at referral and intake to differentiate between persons likely to persist in and profit from rehabilitation and those likely to drop out or to require intensive remedial rehabilitation services.[3] Though staff members thought that the study needed considerable cross-validation, they also thought a beginning had been made toward clarifying a complex research question.

In another project the supervisor developed an intake and recipient evaluation procedure whereby each referral was classified as a "good," "fair," or "poor" rehabilitation risk according to established criteria. Staff members found that the procedure expedited the processing of referral and the initial interview.[4] In another project staff members used three methods of referral as the base for an experimental study of successful rehabilitation.[5]

It was largely by trial and error, however, that most projects finally devised reasonably smooth operating systems. A few were still seeking effective methods at the close of the projects.

Usually, a regular caseworker initiated a referral by sending medical and social information through the project welfare supervisory staff to the project director. The project director, with the welfare supervisor, reviewed the case before referral for diagnostic evaluation and vocational assessment. In some projects the caseworker did the preliminary screening, based on project criteria for determining eligibility (type of public assistance recipient, presence of a disabling condition, age, and other specified data), and then referred potential cases for a joint screening by the counselor, caseworker, welfare supervisor, and project director.

Staff members in several projects thought that a paper review alone of case records and other pertinent data provided insufficient information on which to base a decision for project services. They maintained that such a determination should be based on the observations of trained professional persons in a face-to-face interview.

Though the project caseworker usually interviewed potential recipients before joint screening to obtain current information on him, the counselor interviewed him before the screening in only a few projects. As a rule, the applicant for service was seen in the counselor's office, but, sometimes, the counselor and the caseworker made a home visit to further determine feasibility for project services. Many of them said that home visits were preferable to office interviews.

Typically, a formal application for project services followed the face-to-face interview, if the counselor considered the case a suitable referral. If a decision still could not be made, a few projects placed the applicant in a work-adjustment center, a work-evaluation unit, or a sheltered workshop. Here an assessment was made of his abilities, interests, work-performance level, personal responses, attitudes, and general intelligence. Medical examinations and psychological testing before screening for acceptance were provided if information from other sources was unavailable.

Public assistance case records frequently did not contain sufficient information about medical and other conditions on which to base a joint decision about rehabilitation potential. Consequently, most projects developed a special summary sheet to consolidate pertinent data abstracted from welfare case records, medical reports, and other sources. Some projects used this form to speed up the rehabilitation process from referral through closure.

Table 2. Project location, research grant number, area served, type of public assistance recipient served, and number of referrals, by geographic region: United States and Puerto Rico

Region, State, and grant number	Area served	Type of recipient served[1] and number of referrals
NORTHEAST		
New Hampshire (Greenfield) RD-1633	Cheshire, Merrimack, and Hillsborough Counties	AFDC; APTD: 392
New Jersey (Newark) RD-1206	Union, Essex, and Monmouth Counties	APTD (emphasis at first on new applicants; later all categories): 817
Massachusetts (Boston) RD-1494	Roxbury County	All chronically dependent public assistance recipients except OAA and MAA: 196
Vermont RD-1185	Chittenden County	AFDC; APTD: 191
NORTH CENTRAL		
Illinois (Springfield) RD-1515	Cook County	All categories: 2,092
Iowa (Des Moines) RD-1644	Linn, Blackhawk, Wapello, and Woodbury Counties	AFDC (new applicants): 792
Minnesota (St. Paul) RD-1253	Ramsey County	All chronically dependent public welfare recipients: 354
Nebraska (Lincoln) RD-1329	Douglas and Lancaster Counties	AFDC; APTD; GA (emphasis on new applicants): 464
Ohio[2] (Cleveland) RD-1768	Not available	Not available
Wisconsin (Milwaukee) RD-1332	Milwaukee County	AFDC; APTD; GA: 183
SOUTH		
Arkansas (Little Rock) RD-1333	Pulaski County	AFDC:APTD; AB: 537
District of Columbia RD-1639	Washington, D.C.	AFDC; APTD: 1,900
Florida (Tallahassee) RD-1323	Orange and Seminole Counties	AFDC; APTD: 1,123
Georgia (Savannah) RD-1417	Chatham County	AFDC; APTD; GA: 297
Kentucky (Harlan) RD-1533	Bell and Harlan Counties	New applicants given priority: 729
(Paintsville) RD-1534	Johnson, Martin, and Lawrence Counties	All categories: 738
Texas (Austin) RD-1648	Rio Grande Valley	AFDC: 330
(Houston) RD-1334	Houston	AFDC: 200
(San Antonio) RD-1513	Bexar County	AFDC: 181
West Virginia RD-1335	Kanawha County	AFDC; AFDC-UF: 873
RD-1662	Raleigh and Fayette Counties	All categories except OAA: 360

WEST		
Arizona (Phoenix) RD-1338	Maricopa County and State sample	All categories except OAA and AB: 729
New Mexico (Albuquerque) RD-1737	Bernalillo County	AFDC; AABD; GA: 329
Oregon[2] (Salem) RD-1131D	Multnomah County	All new applicants and reapplicants, except OAA and AB: 600
Utah[2] (Salt Lake City) RD-1514	Not available	Not available
PUERTO RICO		
(Hato Rey) RD-1834	Ponce and Rio Piedras Districts	AFDC; APTD; AB; GA: 189
(Ponce) RD-1835	Southern area of Puerto Rico	AFDC; APTD; AB; GA: 285

[1] *AFDC: aid to families with dependent children; AFDC-UF: aid to families with dependent children-unemployed fathers; APTD: aid to the permanently and totally disabled; AB: aid to the blind; OAA: old-age assistance; AABD: aid to the aged, blind, and disabled; GA: general assistance; and MAA: medical aid to the aged.*

[2] *A summary report from this project was not available at the time of this review.*

Source: Summary reports, demonstration projects.

Most project staff members held regular screening conferences during the month or the week. After the referral, the screening or selection committee, composed of both public assistance and vocational rehabilitation staff members, reviewed all available medical information, data from psychological testing, data on the summary sheets, information obtained in personal interviews, and other materials available from evaluation activities on each recipient. The screening committee's job was to assess the applicant's characteristics, kinds of skill, and disabilities and to accept or reject him for rehabilitation services.

Staff problems

Staff turnover was a major problem in many projects, because staff members, particularly caseworkers, had to be replaced by new and untrained workers. Staff changes interrupted the continuity of the referral and rehabilitation processes and compounded problems in communication and working relationships. Inexperienced staff members had difficulty in selecting the kinds of recipients who should have been referred to the projects, thus creating, at times, disharmony and uncooperativeness between project and regular staff members.

Staff changes brought to the foreground the need for inservice training. Most summary reports, directly or by inference, call attention to the divergent policies of the two kinds of agencies. Staff members of each agency lacked knowledge and appreciation of the goals and aims of and services provided by the other. They failed to see and understand each other's role. Caseworkers frequently did not know the medical terms for the outcome of certain physical and emotional disabilities, the effect of illness on the ability of a person to function as a member of a family and as a member of society, the remedial effect of medical care and therapy on the individual person that can make vocational training or retraining and placement easier, and the capacity many disabled persons have for putting their abilities to use, given the opportunity. Conversely, rehabilitation counselors, restricted by agency policies, could not take care of acute illness, unexpected complications, or emergency situations in the homes of public assistance recipients.

Some counselors were not accustomed to seeing the applicant in his environment. The projects demonstrated the imperative need for the counselor to understand better the "world of the welfare recipient"—his deep-rooted depression and the many social and family problems directly affecting his readiness to accept rehabilitation services. They also demonstrated that the counselor needs to understand the recipient in relation to other family members and to become accustomed to working with recipients receiving all types of grants and pensions.

In some projects staff members did not always work well together in the initial phase of project development. Staff members of the cooperating agencies were sometimes not convinced of the value of working jointly rather than concurrently. Some staff members were too dependent on and some too independent of the need to make joint decisions. Older caseworkers sometimes thought that rehabilitation workers were not interested

in working with public assistance recipients, and some rehabilitation counselors thought that the recipient had little potential for services because of the emotional damage caused by being on public assistance. In contrast, other counselors thought that the assistance workers were oriented toward reinforcing helplessness and had become insensitive to the recipient's potential for self-help. Some workers from the welfare departments thought that, with adequate social services and emotional support from the social worker alone, most recipients could be helped to make full use of their own resources. To some extent, counselors questioned this opinion because the recipient's fear of losing economic assistance would probably keep him dependent.

Many of the summary reports indicate that the project workers needed to develop patience, tolerance for frustration, and ability to accept, in many instances, small goals for their recipients. Through teamwork the adverse attitudes toward recipients, which had sometimes predominated when work in the projects began, gradually changed. The staff members who had held these attitudes began to see the recipients as persons who needed help. Teamwork, too, not only gave experience to members in coming to decisions affecting their joint caseloads but also helped them learn to respect the policy and role of the other agency.

Many staff problems stemmed from lack of State administrative sanction and leadership in some geographic areas and from inadequate local supervision in others. In several localities staff problems were shared, discussed, and resolved through interagency staff meetings involving representatives of both agencies at the State and local levels. The specific roles of each team member often had to be defined, clarified, and justified.

Most project reports recommend that only well-trained, especially prepared, and experienced staff members be assigned to work with public assistance recipients (especially those on AFDC) because of their multiple family and social problems and the intensive and extraordinary number of services they require. Staff members in several projects suggested that the ratio of caseworkers to counselors should be two to one, four to three, or some other close proportion that would increase the number of caseworkers providing day-to-day social services.

Recipient characteristics and problems

Most persons referred to the projects had physical and mental limitations and psychosocial and vocational problems of unusual complexity. In many instances it was only through intensive casework, supportive counseling, and frequent person-to-person involvement that project members could rouse the recipient's interest in rehabilitation services. Most recipients were society's "hard core," persons with characteristics that set them apart from the general vocational rehabilitation clientele.

Just the fact of being in the category APTD seemed to set up resistance to rehabilitation. Many recipients believed that they must remain as they were to insure their small pensions. Many were so disabled that their disabilities, coupled with lack of skill, little schooling, and an unstable environment, made any vocational goal set for them seem speculative. Their attitudes betrayed "an over-involvement with their impairments and social milieu, a hopelessness, and an absence of a sense of tomorrow, except in terms of existence at the status quo level or worse."[5]

Many AFDC recipients had excessive dependency needs expressed by tenacity and endurance in protecting their pensions, broken and unkept appointments, and absences from training sessions. In some geographic areas wages were low and the recipients' income from grants and disability benefits came to more than what they could earn. In such situations rehabilitation services offered little incentive. The attitude understandably was "Why work to earn less?" Recipients sometimes interpreted rehabilitation services as a threat to eligibility for public assistance. After receiving an offer of project services, some recipients developed psychosomatic complaints and passively resisted taking part in work evaluation programs and other rehabilitation activities.

In several projects the size of the public assistance grant appeared to affect the recipient's motivation to become rehabilitated. While one project was in operation, a change in welfare laws and policies increased the amount of the grants. The recipients getting the largest increases became noticeably less interested in rehabilitation.[6] Under many county welfare policies, assistance could not be granted until a person's benefits and other resources were exhausted. When the recipient returned to work, his grant was immediately stopped. Apparently, the anticipated burden of having to meet long-standing debts without pensions so overwhelmed some recipients they were afraid to even consider rehabilitation services.

Little schooling, a condition characteristic of most of the persons referred to the projects, presented a continuous challenge to project staff members. The recipient's lack of training and education made his opportunity for employment in anything but lower unskilled or laboring types of work practically nil in urban areas.

His employment history was usually sketchy and his work habits poor. Moreover, his interest in retraining for placement in still other unskilled types of work was low. Recipients in several projects would not accept rehabilitation services until they were convinced that with retraining they could be placed in skilled or semiskilled jobs.

Passiveness ascribed to culture and to little education was a deterrent to rehabilitation, especially among Mexican-Americans. Staff members working with Mexican-American families observed that a strong bond existed between the old and the young. Older members passed on folk tales and superstitions about illness and fear of medical treatment, with the result that the interest of younger members in rehabilitation was weakened. Many members of a family took part in deciding whether or not and which rehabilitation services were acceptable.

The family's attitude toward rehabilitation frequently affected the recipient's interest in cooperating with project staff members. Many of the summary reports contain subjective observations and a few objective facts supporting this observation. Project members cited instances where the relatives of an applicant would make slurring remarks about services or would refuse to allow the applicant to use the family automobile to attend rehabilitation activities. Some workers felt that a distrust of agencies in general, combined with fear of losing the public assistance grant, underlay the family's apparent hostility.

That the family strongly influenced the recipient's actual rehabilitation was confirmed by data based on research conducted by one project on recipient motivation for work and family interest, ambition, expectation, and fear where the disabled member was concerned.[4] The data also suggest that there are measurable differences in the characteristics of supportive and resistive families.

Personality tests given to a small sample of project recipients found long-standing dependency problems, insatiable need for attention, and poor tolerance to frustration in those who did not succeed in rehabilitation. These characteristics, abetted by insecure and unsupportive families, were the major barrier to success in rehabilitation. Although the study findings are not conclusive due to both the small sample size and the method used in selecting the sample, the investigators reported that the further use of personality tests as a tool for obtaining better understanding of disabled recipients was strongly indicated by the study.[4]

Though the project staff members often attributed the recipient's resistance to rehabilitation to excessive dependency needs, they also thought that his resistance, whether he acknowledged it, was frequently based on a logical fear of economic loss, especially when he lived in an area without job opportunities and where the kind of full-time job he could get paid less than public assistance.

Staff members in other projects asked whether a counselor's bias or pessimistic attitude toward the success of public assistance recipients in rehabilitation may not be subtly communicated and lead recipients to reject services. If so, in their opinion, counselors, to be effective, would have to acquire self-understanding and understanding of the culture of the poor, through training in new educational methods.

Lack of community resources

In addition to such barriers to successful rehabilitation as an ineffective referral system, staffing problems, and problems in the recipient and his family, successful rehabilitation was also impeded by the lack of community resources and special and technical services for the recipient. No amount of counselor ingenuity could remove this impediment.

One of the greatest needs in all sections of the country was for day-care centers for children. Such facilities, as the project reports imply, are prerequisite to the rehabilitation of AFDC mothers. Project staff members found that many AFDC mothers who were eligible for project services and who had expressed interest in enrolling in training classes were rejected because they could not place their children in a day-care center or with family or friends during their absence from home during training.

Many communities lacked workshops, trade schools, and other training facilities. In some areas where training facilities and educational programs were available, employment opportunities were not compatible with the training received or with the aptitude and skill of the persons referred. In rural areas inadequate transportation to and from the cities for jobs or training was also a deterrent.

Motivational methods, procedures, and work incentives

The problem of how to handle recipient resistance to rehabilitation concerned the staff members of all the projects. A variety of methods, procedures, techniques, and work incentives were developed and used to move recipients toward successful vocational goals, or at least

toward more productive functioning. Different projects emphasized different techniques and procedures.

The team method produced useful motivational dynamics. The caseworker usually presented rehabilitation services to the recipient as an opportunity for vocational assessment. Later, when the caseworker introduced the recipient to the counselor, the recipient seemed to regard the two as a team. This appeared to lessen the threat rehabilitation services had posed to the recipient and helped him concentrate on the task ahead. Team members explained the sequence in rehabilitation service to him—the medical examination, the evaluation of work potential, the selection of a vocational goal, and how this goal could be achieved. Some projects encouraged the recipient to discuss his choices of action and to assess his own psychological readiness for services. From the initial interview to closure, when necessary, their staff members stressed the vocational goal for the recipient and the opportunity it presented for him to help raise the social and economic condition of his family. They also pointed out to the recipient the need for him to keep on cooperating to insure suitable placement.

Many recipients needed intensive social services, frequent contact with project staff members, and a wide range of services, without which they probably would not have continued in rehabilitation. They needed reassurance that they were capable of doing the work for which they were to be trained, especially during social and work evaluation and job placement and at the beginning of employment.

Early referral of disabled public assistance recipients for rehabilitation services was one means used to minimize dependency and increase motivation. Staff evaluation indicated that the recipients who succeeded in rehabilitation had either been on public assistance for shorter periods than those who did not succeed, were new applicants for public assistance, or had shorter periods since full-time employment and receiving assistance.

Project staff members said that they were able to give the intensive services needed only because caseloads were small. Small caseloads gave team members greater flexibility in arranging appointments and in handling emergencies. With larger caseloads only the more able and adjusted recipient and his family could have achieved a rehabilitation goal, according to some project staff members.

Through home visits the counselors in several projects involved family members in the recipient's rehabilitation goal. Talking with friends and family members helped break down communication barriers and develop the recipient's trust in team members. Home visits also aided counselors and caseworkers to better develop an ability to listen and watch for "danger signals"—marital strife, jealousy, nutritional and other health problems, and the like—and to extend timely case services and counseling.

In several projects staff effort focused on the restoration of hope in recipients who had suffered severe deprivation and who had had many failures. A "take by the hand" method was practiced through supportive counseling, understanding, listening, and "doing things" for the recipient. Especially among APTD recipients, the caseworker arranged for medical appointments and treatment and showed them how to take better care of their homes, how to use sewing machines, and how to arrange for transportation. In one project staff members contacted each recipient about 30 times and, in a few instances, made as many as 70 contacts per recipient during the 2 years of the project before the recipient's lack of interest in rehabilitation was pierced.[5] The team members earned the trust of the recipients the hard way, but their hard work sometimes paid off in better grooming habits, cleaner homes, less bickering in the family, and more interest in the immediate environment and in self-improvement.

Operating on the assumption that public assistance promotes dependency and, thereby, delays employment and recovery, staff members in one project occasionally used a method that called for ending the assistance grant at a specific time during the recipient's rehabilitation.[7] However, to give the recipient an adjustment period, he was told 2 or 3 months in advance what would be done. Recipients responded differently. A few appeared to be relieved that the assistance grant would be ended; others severely resisted the idea and required a great deal of counseling and casework during the adjustment period.

In areas where the amount of the public assistance grant exceeded what the recipient could earn, project staff members emphasized the need to increase the recipient's potential earning power through additional training.

In several projects the supplementation of assistance income at critical periods during or after rehabilitation acted as an incentive to seeking employment. Public assistance policies were relaxed in a number of States for those participating in project activities. Recipients remained on assistance during evaluation and while being conditioned for work; in other situations, grants were provided during training. Also, public assistance grants were continued for a period of 1 to 3 months in several States after the recipients were employed.

A significant contribution to job placement in many projects was the comprehensive diagnostic and work adjustment services recipients had received in an evaluation program. These programs were frequently located in a special place such as an industrial or sheltered workshop or a work-evaluation unit of a rehabilitation center where individual and group therapy and counseling centered on job placement and other prevocational training services could be given.

Staff members in these projects made intensive assessments not only of the medical, psychological, and emotional needs of disabled recipients but also of their social and vocational needs, motivational level and attitudes, and work skill and aptitude for training in different trades and other kinds of employment. Some programs offered instruction in a prevocational activity where recipients learned to adapt to new routines, to be punctual, and to accept correction. Other programs included instruction in grooming, personal hygiene, home sanitation, money and debt management, community participation, and the like.

Project teams often found job placement and follow-up services essential to sustain the motivation and interest of some recipients. To assure their continued employment, teams in several projects kept in touch with the recipients they had served for at least 90 days and, in some instances, up to 6 months. As a routine procedure, staff members of one project contacted both the employer and the recipient at the end of the first 6 months of employment.

The wide variety of methods and procedures used to move public assistance recipients toward a vocational goal further emphasized that an accurate individual assessment of their social, vocational, psychological, and medical situation is needed in working with disabled public assistance recipients. For some recipients changes in welfare laws and policies and subsequent income supplementation during rehabilitation provided the practical means for attaining a vocational goal. For others a great deal of individual and group therapy and counseling were needed. It is clear there were no simple devices applicable to most recipients. Irrespective of which public assistance category was served, project teams found that the amount of time and effort needed to hold disabled public assistance recipients in rehabilitation went far beyond that needed by disabled persons served in the regular program.

Discussion and conclusions

Through the 27 demonstration projects conducted between 1963-67, two kinds of social agencies made a concentrated effort to find new ways to rehabilitate disabled public assistance applicants and recipients. When the projects closed, the agencies had gathered a great deal of information on the problems staff members meet in trying to attain their objectives. Much of the information has since been incorporated into Federal guidelines issued early in 1969 to State vocational rehabilitation and public assistance agencies for developing integrated plans for the vocational rehabilitation of public assistance applicants and recipients.[8]

A strong research component was built into some of the projects. But the absence of planned controls and of careful research design in most may have permitted, or even encouraged, broad experimentation and general development of new ways of meeting the needs of different kinds of public assistance recipients. However, because the projects were exploratory, some of the conclusions that can be drawn from the results must be taken with reservation. Future research should strengthen, clarify, or reverse some conclusions and suggest still more efficient and humane ways of meeting the needs of disabled poor persons.

The problems the demonstration brought to the foreground cover a wide range. Some were administrative, stemming from the different orientation of the two agencies; others concerned operations such as the referral system and the identification, selection, and movement of cases; others had to do with "people" such as the recipient's motivation for rehabilitation; and others were outside the agency such as the lack of community resources. Such problems point out that barriers to rehabilitation lie in the agencies themselves, the community, and the recipient and his environment.

The agencies. The system under which the different kinds of agencies are organized and operate creates gaps in communication, poor coordination of services, and competition among staff members and between agencies. These, in turn, all too frequently foster hostile attitudes in persons seeking or needing help.

The projects, however, do attest to the value of a coordinated method in the rehabilitation of disabled public assistance recipients. The team method, which was effective, did not just happen. Interagency staff meetings, involving representatives of both agencies at State and local levels, had to define, clarify, and justify the roles of the two agencies. The reports indicate that, in a continuing situation, the legal limitations on the structure and functions of staffing patterns, financial resources, and policies of both kinds of agencies must be recognized and adaptations made. In reaching decisions

about joint caseloads, compromises will have to be made in which the agencies agree on the best way to use their limited resources in meeting the needs of the disabled persons being served.

Preliminary studies made before one project was set up showed that agencies paid less attention to disabled public assistance recipients than to disabled persons who were not on public assistance. Recipients were not only rejected more often but were also subjected to much longer delays in the processing of their cases. In addition, the professional persons who served them seem to have thought they were less likely to succeed in rehabilitation.[4]

The effect of professional attitudes and practices on the motivation of recipients to accept rehabilitation services was not investigated, per se, in the projects. The staffs, however, recognized that the team method did affect motivation. It appeared to lessen recipient resistance to rehabilitation, for instance. At the same time, a few staff members who were at first pessimistic about the potential of disabled recipients for rehabilitation changed their attitude as they learned to work as a team.

If, indeed, pessimistic attitudes toward and low expectations for disabled poor persons are communicated to them and lead them to reject rehabilitation, as some reports indicate, professional people who work with disabled public assistance recipients need to learn to distinguish between their middle-class values and those of the disabled poor.

The identification and selection of public assistance cases for referral to State and local rehabilitation agencies present complex problems, as the reports indicate. They raise many questions, among them, these:

- What kinds of recipients should be referred?
- Who should do the initial screening?
- What kinds of information should public assistance agencies provide for each recipient?
- How should information be transferred from one agency to another without long delays?
- How can caseworkers and counselors frequently meet to discuss their joint caseload and yet work at the rapid pace required to keep the "pipeline" open?

These are only a few of the questions to be answered at the local level in each State. Limited funds, staffs, and facilities for serving the large number of public assistance recipients eligible for rehabilitation services demand the continuing development of all aspects of the referral system.

The reports recommend early casefinding and referral for rehabilitation services. A few suggest that early identification and referral of the handicapped children of public assistance recipients could help break the dependency cycle.

A number of efficient procedures and methods for identifying, selecting, and referring disabled public assistance recipients for rehabilitation were developed. More testing of these procedures and methods is needed to validate their applicability on a larger scale.

Models and procedures for predicting success or failure in rehabilitation at intake were a promising research feature of the demonstration. It is possible that, through predictive criteria and consequent remedial services, many more persons with poor prognoses for successful rehabilitation can be rehabilitated. These models and procedures may also indicate the point below which time and money spent to rehabilitate disabled recipients would be unproductive.

The relation between the public assistance grant, particularly its size, and successful rehabilitation is not clear, though it appeared to exist. However, the projects demonstrated that supplementing the income of public assistance recipients at critical times during or after the completion of rehabilitation was an incentive to seeking employment.

As a result of the demonstration, welfare policies in a number of States have been relaxed. Recipients in these States can now receive grants during work evaluation or while in training. Several States now continue grants for 1 to 3 months after the rehabilitated person is employed.

The community. The reports indicate that deficiencies in the agency system are closely allied to deficiencies in community resources and special and technical services. No amount of casework preparation, counseling, or ingenuity on the part of counselors and caseworkers can make up for these deficiencies. Day-care centers for children are especially needed to enable AFDC mothers to take training and to stay on the job. Another need is for workshops, trade schools, industrial and sheltered workshops, and other kinds of training.

Not enough special facilities for intensive diagnostic and work evaluation services were available to the projects. Project staff members emphasized the point that a comprehensive assessment of the recipient's motivational level, personal responses, work skill, and aptitude for training in various trades and jobs, accompanied by group therapy, counseling in job placement, and work adjustment services, is essential to placing the person being rehabilitated in competitive employment.

The reports indicate that the success of a rehabilitation program is critically dependent on a close cooperative relationship between agencies and their communities. They make clear that the counselor's awareness of community resources and his skill in effectively bringing them to the assistance of the recipient cannot be overstressed. Persons in charge of developing manpower, public training, and educational programs also have grave responsibility for job training and career development. In some project areas the only kind of training available to recipients was compatible neither with the area's employment opportunities nor with the recipient's attitudes or skill.

The recipient. The projects found that most public assistance recipients and disabled persons who usually receive vocational rehabilitation have distinctly different characteristics. The recipient's physical and emotional disabilities, combined with a wide range of social and family problems, deep-rooted depression, limited skill, little schooling, an unsupportive—even resistive—family, and dependency needs frequently affected his readiness to accept rehabilitation services. The problem for many recipients appeared to be unemployability, rather than unemployment, because they lacked capability and motivation.

The extent to which recipient resistance to rehabilitation can be attributed to excess dependency needs, a logical fear of losing the public assistance grant—especially in those living in depressed economic areas—or other influences, both reasonable or unreasonable, cannot be determined from data in the summary reports. The reports suggest, however, that recipient resistance to rehabilitation was frequently due to his awareness of meager or no reward for the effort and strain required to take part in rehabilitation activities. Project data pointed out that the recipient's motivation was improved or generated by convincing him of the benefits of rehabilitation. But the counselor and the caseworker were not always able to convince him. Their inability stemmed sometimes from lack of skill and professional expertness. Frequently, however, it originated in agency deficiencies and defects in a system that has failed to provide resources needed to rehabilitate disabled poor persons and their families.

Based on the results of personality tests, special research studies, and analysis of program data in individual projects, evidence indicates that recipient failure in rehabilitation was related to long-standing dependency problems, the insatiable need for attention, poor toleration to frustration, insecure and unsupportive families, length of time since holding full-time employment and receiving assistance, and the size of the public assistance grant.

The reports also lead to this conclusion: in making plans for rehabilitating increased numbers of disabled poor persons, State agencies will need to provide new methods and the kinds of remedial services that recognize the special characteristics of public assistance recipients. Caseloads should be small to enable counselors and caseworkers to provide the intensive services needed by many welfare recipients and their families.

Research needs

The demonstration indicated a need for further research on several major aspects of rehabilitating public assistance recipients.

Agency and community barriers. Inefficiency in agency service systems demands intensive and extensive investigation. Studies should be conducted on the amount and kinds of resources needed to rehabilitate poor persons; ways in which resources can be expanded; and the effect that gaps in resources, technical services, and facilities have on agency practices and professional attitudes toward disabled poor persons.

Recipient motivation. Studies on recipient motivation are needed. They should include investigation on the effects of the recipient's motivational level and his kind of motivation at intake and during rehabilitation; aspects contributing to recipient motivation, including the family situation, work experience, education, dependency needs, and type and severity of disability; the availability of resources for increasing recipient motivation and the time and money for acquiring them; the development of new methods for increasing recipient interest in rehabilitation; and the effect of professional attitudes and practices on the recipient's desire for rehabilitation.

Recidivism. Followup studies on recipients rehabilitated through the project and in the regular vocational rehabilitation programs should investigate the reasons for recidivism, that is, the return to public assistance. Such studies should investigate the type and severity of recipient disability; his family situation, dependency needs, personality, and attitudes; the kinds and extent of rehabilitation services provided during rehabilitation and after placement; and the work situation and employee-employer relationship. Research on recidivism is particularly needed because very little information on this aspect is available.

Employment incentive. Investigation is also needed on the amount and kinds of employment incentives that move recipients to accept rehabilitation. Such studies should include changes in welfare policies and laws and adaptations in vocational rehabilitation standards to insure that recipients will get jobs and hold them after case closure. The entire subject of changes in welfare laws and policies that could offer money incentives to recipients to follow a plan through which they can prepare themselves for employment needs extensive study.

A final word

Given little money with which to work, the State vocational rehabilitation agency has had, of necessity, to develop procedures that fully promote the effectiveness of its programs. As a result, persons having little potential for successful rehabilitation—as defined by the standards—have often been rejected. Resources are so limited, in fact, that for every handicapped adult rehabilitated in the State programs (241,390 in fiscal year 1969), many times that number could benefit from such services.[9]

Despite scarce resources, the demonstration was a probing effort to reach and rehabilitate the type of disabled poor persons usually rejected for services in the regular program. As a result of it, more than ever before, the State agencies must develop highly refined methods for the full implementation of the program and direct every effort toward increasing the number of disabled poor persons accepted for rehabilitation.

The results of the demonstration warrant this final recommendation: to better serve disabled poor persons and their families in statewide programs, interagency coordination must continue to be strengthened at all levels. New ways of making staff assignments must be explored and the results must be implemented through service-team methods. Large-scale staff training must encompass new and humane methods of providing services and promoting understanding of joint agency functions and responsibilities, and adaptations must continue to be made in methods used to rehabilitate more and more disabled poor persons.

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[1] *The research grants and demonstrations program operated under the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare until January 28, 1963, when it was transferred, together with the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, to the newly established Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. Further reorganizational changes in the Department, effective August 15, 1967, placed the program in the Office of Research, Demonstrations, and Training of the Social and Rehabilitation Service.*

[2] *"Guide for Preparing an Application for Selected Demonstration Project: Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Public Assistance Clients." (Washington, 1963.) Division of Research Grants and Demonstrations, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.*

[3] *"The San Antonio Rehabilitation Welfare Report on Research and Demonstration Project RD-1513," prepared by Robert B. Beck and others (Austin, Feb. 1967); and "The San Antonio Rehabilitation Welfare Report on Research and Demonstration Project RD-1513," prepared by Education Evaluation and Research Associates (Austin, Mar. 1969). Vocational Rehabilitation Division, Texas Education Agency.*

[4] *"Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Public Assistance Clients" (RD-1494). (Boston, June 1968.) Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission.*

[5] *"Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Public Assistance Clients 1963-1966" (RD-1206). (Newark, July 1967.) Bureau of Assistance, Division of Public Welfare, New Jersey Rehabilitation Commission and Department of Institutions and Agencies.*

[6] *"Partnership in Service: Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Public Assistance Clients" (RD-1662). (Charlestown, Sept. 1967.) Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, West Virginia Board of Vocational Education.*

[7] *"Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Public Assistance Clients" (RD-1417). (Savannah, Oct. 31, 1966.) Georgia Division of Vocational Rehabilitation and Georgia Department of Family and Children Services.*

[8] *"Guidelines for the Development of an Integrated Action Program Plan for Vocational Rehabilitation of Public Assistance Applicants and Recipients." (Washington, Feb. 7, 1969.) Social and Rehabilitation Service, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (memorandum to State administrators of public welfare and vocational rehabilitation agencies).*

[9] *According to estimates made by the Division of Statistics and Studies, Rehabilitation Services Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, there are 5 million disabled persons eligible for services in the State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program. In fiscal year 1969, about 782,000 disabled persons were served in the State-Federal program. The ratio of those served to the estimated number eligible for services is thus roughly 6 to 1. How many of the eligible 5 million are getting services from other sources is not known. A 1966 survey by the Social Security Administration listed 17.8 million noninstitutionalized adults in the United States, age 18 to 64, as having been disabled longer than 6 months. More than 6 million of these were severely disabled, that is, unable to work at all or regularly. ("Disability, Work and Income Maintenance: Prevalence of Disability, 1966," by Lawrence D. Haber,* Social Security Survey of the Disabled: 1966, *Report No. 2, Office of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration, Washington, May, 1968.) These statistics suggest that the estimate of 5 million persons eligible for services in the State-Federal vocational rehabilitation program is conservative.*

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Understanding and Fighting Poverty

Abraham S. Levine

The books reviewed...

On Understanding Poverty: Perspectives From The Social Sciences, *edited by Daniel P. Moynihan. (425 pp., $10.)*

On Fighting Poverty: Perspectives From Experience, *edited by James L. Sundquist. (256 pp., $8.50.)*

Basic Books, Publishers, 40 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Unlike most of the anthologies on povery that have appeared in recent years, both *On Understanding Poverty* and *On Fighting Poverty* are well focused, and each has its central theme from which there is no more than minimal exploration of subsidiary themes and side issues. In other words, the reader does not feel that he is being led on a random walk over the landscape of poverty. Also, the contributors to both volumes represent a high average level of social science talent. The chapters of both books stem mostly from papers presented at a continuing seminar held in 1966-67 (continuing for a day and a half once a month) by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences to explore "Problems of Race and Poverty."

On Understanding Poverty begins with a chapter by the editor, Daniel P. Moynihan, reflecting his charming erudition. The high note of both style and scholarship he reaches is carried through the book for the most part by a number of leaders in sociology, economics, psychology, anthropology, and history. The question—What is poverty?—is the book's central preoccupation. Simplistically, it presents two extreme views. One, held primarily by the contributors who are economists, argues that the poor are poor because they do not have enough money or other material resources. The other, held by those who are sociologists or anthropologists, argues that the cause of poverty is the "culture of poverty." As described, the "culture of poverty" sounds like a peculiar sociological disease contracted by a group of susceptible people from unfortunate contacts with the "Establishment." Low income is only one symptom of this disease. The underlying problem is that lack of money permits little education and little education holds the poor to low-skilled jobs from which they get little income. But this is only a surface feature. Underneath is a complex and ramified life style that may be characterized as "chronic dependency," "illegitimacy," "alienation," "a feeling of powerlessness," "juvenile delinquency," and the like. When these symptoms are spelled out as the book goes on, they sound like the symptoms of the "sociological disease" pictured in Leonard Bernstein's "West Side Story," if indeed they don't from the beginning. The poor person, according to this view, is a different kind of human being from even the kind now referred to as the stable working-class person.

Without examining these conflicting notions—at this point—it is a safe assumption that the dichotomy has risen because virtually all of us have known both kinds of poor people. During the Great Depression, we all knew people who were considered poor mostly because they did not have enough money (or were in such families ourselves). We all have known old people living on niggardly pensions or dependent on their children. And we have known many young people who by necessity worked their way through college; in fact, many of us were among them. Also, most of us have known poor people who, in social work jargon, are referred to as having a "multi-problem syndrome." The point is, however, that the discussion of the culture of poverty is not merely idle academic chatter but has very important implications for fighting poverty.

The other book, *On Fighting Poverty,* tells the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) story. The tellers have in one way or another been connected with OEO—mostly in the past. They describe OEO's trials and tribulations, which always seem as though they are just beginning again. Much of the book is about the most controversial and distinctive of the antipoverty programs—the Community Action Program (CAP). It is a tale told by very competent, albeit partisan, observers and participants

Dr. Levine is Acting Chief, Division of Research and Demonstrations, Office of Research, Demonstrations, and Training.

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The much-heralded War on Poverty, launched in 1964, was begun without any systematic or even adequate notions as to what the problem was. We now have better ideas on the subject, and it is these ideas I will explore in the next section, as I review in detail *On Understanding Poverty* and its central theme, the culture of poverty.

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What is the culture of poverty?

The chapters in *On Understanding Poverty* that grew out of the 1966-67 seminar have been revised and brought up to 1968. Consequently, the viewpoints expressed may be regarded as the 1968 poverty *weltanschauung,* which is subject to change like a railroad timetable.

Some observers may have considered the 1964-67 phase of the War on Poverty a failure, but Moynihan regards such feelings as but the mood of the moment and thinks that the great battles are yet to be fought. He also bravely makes the point that "the War on Poverty–rather like the war in Vietnam–was preeminently the conception of the liberal, policy oriented intellectual, especially those gathered in Washington, and in a significant sense came to power in the early 1960's under the Presidency of John F. Kennedy" (p.6). On the whole, it is Moynihan's considered judgment that the "new economics" of the Kennedy era worked and that the long dominant problem of economics gradually came under control so that the energies of the Government were turned toward persons who for various reasons were permanently without enough income. With the continued economic growth of the United States, the number of these people has contracted, both absolutely and relatively. Now most of the persons and families who are below the current poverty line are the hard-core poor.

This state of affairs, Moynihan implies in the opening chapter, "The Professors and the Poor," has given rise to the concept of the "culture of poverty" and the professors who hold such a view (few of whom have been members of that culture) have a near-obsessive concern to locate the blame for poverty, especially among Negroes, on outside forces and institutions. Thus, at different times they have given different reasons for poverty–capitalism, racism, the military-industrial complex, or whatever they perceived as the dominant value system and power structure. The belief that the poor are poor because of the power structure inspired the actions of the early general staff, predominantly social scientists, who planned the War and the OEO generals who led the attack. Thus, it was not just by chance that a large-scale program to provide employment for men, the traditional antipoverty measure, was left out of the poverty program and the quite unprecedented CAP came to be the central effort. The basic strategy was to include the poor in the "opportunity structure" of education, training, and jobs and thereby knock out the culture of poverty and, in the process, poverty itself.

Many of the contributors to *On Understanding Poverty* have a lot to say about the culture of poverty to which persons excluded from the opportunity structure are relegated. Peter H. Rossi and Zahava D. Blum do a good job of delineating the characteristics of this underclass (if

their list isn't enough, the reader can avail himself of the complete dirty laundry list of characteristics delineated by Walter Miller later on). Concerning the etiology of these characteristics, Rossi and Blum say that poor people, because they are subject to long periods of unemployment or underemployment, must have frequent recourse to public assistance. When employed, their jobs are at the lowest levels of skill–in menial service or at farm labor. Their marital lives, for those who are married, are characterized by high rates of desertion, divorce, or separation, conditions leading to households headed by women and illegitimacy. These, in turn, are the road to a poverty tending to perpetuate itself. People in such families are characterized, consequently, by a sense of helplessness leading to low occupational aspirations. It is not surprising, then, to find that they have little knowledge of and little interest in society as a whole (that is, they suffer from alienation).

S. M. Miller and Pamela Roby make a good case for education being the royal road out of poverty. If a person comes from a socially and culturally deprived background, how can he be characterized as culturally deprived if he has a good formal education? However, because most poor people lack good formal education and the opportunity to acquire it, they make a plea for another way to lift people out of the culture of poverty. They say change the educational institutions and the attitudes of society so that the social stratification formed by different educational backgrounds is weakened if not eliminated. Ultimately, it will be necessary to change the distribution of social honor and self respect that are the most fundamental aspects of the stratification. This can only be accomplished by each person in the society caring about those excluded from it and doing what is necessary to include them in their personal and social lives.

Among other contributors who are proponents of this means of eliminating the culture of poverty is Otis Dudley Duncan. He amasses considerable empirical evidence to bolster his argument that Negroes (that is, disproportionate numbers of them) are poor mainly because they are "Negroes" and are defined and treated as such by society and that their poverty stems largely not from the legacy of poverty but from the legacy of race. He sees the "race problem" as of primary importance to those who would conduct a successful War on Poverty. The historian Stephan Thernstrom, after taking the long view, concludes that there is nothing very new in the current poverty scene. As a matter of fact, the percentage of the poor, if measured by relative buying power, has contracted in the last hundred years. He also attempts to demolish a few other sacred beliefs. For example, he takes the oft-cited figure that about 40 percent of the parents receiving aid under the assistance to families with dependent children (AFDC) were raised in public assistance homes and points out that a high proportion of these parents were raised during the Great Depression, when at least a quarter, and quite possibly more, of the people of the United States received such assistance. Consequently, the case for intergenerational dependency is shaky. At best, it requires a very careful research design before the substantive data become valid. Perhaps his most provocative point is that the European immigrant type of poverty was ameliorated by an ideology that became a habit of thrift. But he says: "The American Negro has never lived in the thrift-oriented subculture of the European immigrant. . . . Also, it is doubtful that being drenched in our consumption-oriented mass media whether the Negro poor will even develop such an ethos" (p.181). He goes on to say: "Consumption expectations will probably continue to remain higher than most Negroes can command in the labor market, even if the market becomes color-blind" (p.181).

Although he does not accept the notion of a "culture of poverty" in the usual sense, Thernstrom waxes pessimistic in assessing the current situation associated with ethnicity. Thus, though "all preceding groups of newcomers were succeéded by others still more handicapped and improverished, the Negro, along with the Puerto Rican and the Mexican, is obviously not destined to be followed by a new underclass to look down upon–and you see something of the dynamic behind the current racial crisis. Negroes are the first group in American history whose only hope of getting off the bottom is not by standing on someone else's shoulders but by eliminating the bottom altogether" (p. 181). His analysis has a very important bearing on the current crisis in the War on Poverty, associated, as it is, to a considerable extent with minority status, which is no longer a matter of national origin or religious belief but of pigmentation and, even that, selectively.

Oscar Lewis, comes on stage strongly for a culture of poverty, or at least a subculture (the semantics of this difference are primarily academic). His position is, briefly, that to eliminate this kind of culture, nothing short of a social revolution is necessary. But even with revolution the process will take time because, under the pressure of the Establishment (which he equates with capitalism), the subculture tends to develop

mechanisms through which it perpetuates itself.

The position of Herbert J. Gans is both scholarly and sociological. He does perhaps the best job of delineating a research methodology for answering many of the unanswered questions. These questions, about which opinion documented by some research rages, include the following: Is there a persistent and single type of culture (or set of subcultures) among the poor, or do different poor people differ more individually or by group? What behavioral patterns block or facilitate escape from poverty? How long would it take for these behavioral patterns to change if opportunities changed? What is the nature of the economy that relegates many people to underemployment or unemployment? Does the structure of a family headed by a woman block the escape from poverty? How?

Gans assumes that the family headed by a woman is an adaptive response to frequent and continuing unemployment and underemployment among men, and he asks whether such a family structure is a situational response that would disappear once jobs were available to men. The last question is perhaps the most important of those posed for the possible effects of the answers on viable policy. It is one that was not only incorporated in the early War on Poverty but is also bound to be part of the battles yet to come. It is certainly a question implicit in the Family Assistance Plan proposed by President Nixon and masterminded by Mr. Moynihan, to name but one example.

Gans is at his best when he discusses research schemes designed to answer the foregoing and related questions:

"Many of the questions I have raised about the culture of the poor can be investigated through a combination of presently available empirical research methods: participant-observation; the mixture of ethnological techniques, participant-observation and life-history collection used by Oscar Lewis; intensive or depth interviewing; and extensive interviewing of large samples by social surveys.

"Yet none of these methods is able to get at the prime question about the culture of the poor: What behavioral norms will and will not persist under changed economic and noneconomic conditions? *The question can best be answered by altering the conditions and seeing how people respond.* Consequently, the most desirable method of anti-poverty research is inducing social change and observing the results, for example, by eliminating poverty-inducing conditions" (p.225).

The experimental method advocated by Gans is one that is just beginning to be used, particularly for income-maintenance experiments. Every method has its shortcomings as well as its virtues. Experiments are expensive because they entail giving money grants to the poor, as well as to the professors who are studying them. Despite the reduction in the number of the poor and the rise in the number of poverty researchers in recent years, the poor still outnumber the researchers. Also, results obtained in relatively short-term and geographically restricted experiments may not continue to hold up when they become national policy. However, there is as yet no better way of knowing what happens under changed conditions, unless one is fortunate enough to have many natural experiments. In effect this is what happened when OEO rapidly mounted many of its programs (the subject of the other book, *On Fighting Poverty*).

The last few chapters in *On Understanding Poverty* do not suffer from lack of scholarship, erudition, or scientific eminence in their authors. But the reader may by this time find some of the ideas redundant. Lee Rainwater, for instance, although a sociologist by training, takes the economist's position: the solution to poverty lies in a marked redistribution of income over a period of 10 years. Only by means of the now familiar devices of the negative income tax, the guaranteed minimum income, and other income maintenance schemes, the principles of which have been debated over the last few years, can the poor be pulled above the poverty line. Moreover, he believes that such a move toward income equalization would result in much larger increases in the gross national product and, therefore, in the national income than are now envisioned by even the most optimistic economic planners.

But, this position is only partly supported by the economist, Harold Watts, in his chapter on "An Economic Definition of Poverty." After doing a beautiful job of describing poverty in economic terms, he concludes: "There is nothing in the definition that precludes Head Start or even prenatal nutrition from being the most efficient means of reducing poverty in the sense of amount of poverty reduced *per dollar spent*" (p. 329). However, he doesn't exclude the desirability of some direct transfers of income.

The author of the final chapter, Gerald Rosenthal, continues to underscore the economic side. But he also takes the broader point of view that the answer to the question must clearly come from a more intensive analysis of the characteristics of the poor and the persistence of these characteristics in spite of the increases in income some of the planners and fighters in the War on Poverty advocate.

Mr. Moynihan, in addition to his fine contribution of "The Professors and the Poor," has done a magnificent job of assembling a coherent

and well-integrated anthology on one of the most perplexing problems of our affluent society. Of course, a great deal of the credit also goes to the professors who collaborated with him.

If a reader begins *On Understanding Poverty* in a state of confusion about the nature of poverty, he is almost certain to emerge in a more enlightened state of confusion about the subject. Sometimes as I read along I felt that I knew what Robert Oppenheimer meant when he said of the scholars at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton: "What we don't know, we explain to each other." However, the rationales behind some of the current best-formulated plans for fighting poverty became more nearly comprehensible as I read this erudite volume on what poverty is all about. For certain, reading *On Understanding Poverty* sharpens understanding of the Family Assistance Plan and the recommendations of the President's Committee on Income Maintenance.

The OEO story

On Fighting Poverty is a thinner book (256 pages) than its companion volume (425 pages), perhaps because what it talks about covers only 4 years of a new program rather than an age-old situation. The contributors to *On Fighting Poverty* may average out a bit more on the action side than those to *On Understanding Poverty,* but they too have very respectable academic credentials, often reflected in their current positions. However, all of them were on the firing line at some time during the early War years they describe.

The War on Poverty began in December 1962, when President Kennedy said to Walter Heller, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers: "Now look! I want to go beyond the things that have already been accomplished. Give me some facts and figures on the things we still have to do. For example, what about the poverty problem in the United States?" (p. 7). At the same time, he asked for a copy of *The Other America,* by Michael Harrington, a book that has subsequently sparked a rash of literature on poverty such as the Nation has never seen before. Sundquist does a good job of tracing the influence not only of this book but of the other forces that precipitated the War on Poverty such as "mental health discovers people," "public welfare discovers rehabilitation," and "retraining discovers illiteracy." The cold shower had been running for a long time but now certain people stepped into it.

On November 19, 1963, President Kennedy instructed Heller to include antipoverty measures in the 1964 legislative program—and in that year the War began. Central to the War was a community action program to involve the poor in destroying the "culture of poverty." The question of who would administer the program was answered by President Johnson, who bought the idea of a new agency (OEO) and shifted Sargent Shriver from the Peace Corps to head it.

The first few chapters, although variously titled, are all about the political travail of the Community Action Program (CAP). It is a story full of many names and incidents and the political intrigue involved in the power struggle of who controls whom and what. These chapters read like a good novel. But the contributors try hard to be objective. How successful their attempts are, I'm afraid, can only be measured in the many reflection pools of the readers' views. Some ideas simply cannot be gauged by objective criteria because there are none. We are told, for example, that in the struggle for power with local authorities, the extreme opponents of the programs said that the 1967 race riots were precipitated by CAP. At any rate, we do know the program is dying by slow strangulation and is being superseded by something much less controversial—the Model Cities Program.

The part I found most interesting because of my research predilections is the final three chapters. In one of them Robert Levine makes the point that the best strategy is a mix of programs. After all, the poor are not a single-headed creature, despite the "culture of poverty" credo. Each poor person is an individual with various characteristics, and even today some are poor primarily because they do not have enough money. After making this well-taken point, he attempts to evaluate the effect of a variety of programs, many of which are quite resistant to the logic of evalution. However, he is forthright in identifying the programs that could and could not be evaluated with existing information. Often, a measure of success or "benefits" was used. For the Job Corps program, for example, measure was taken of the average improvement in educational achievement and what this would generally mean in improved earnings to the participant. The benefits so calculated were then compared with the costs of the program. Benefit-cost ratios slightly on the positive side were the result.

Peter H. Rossi, who has the more readily defensible task of describing what would be an ideal methodology in evaluating social-action programs, does a masterly job. He tempers a brief discussion concerning the theory of sound evaluation with an astute observation of the politics of evaluation. The central problem often is the impracticality of obtaining a suitable control or comparison

group that, although qualified for the program being evaluated, must be denied the program services. Administrators are loath to permit the researcher to withhold services from such people, who are, after all, every bit as deserving and needy as those who receive them. What can the sharp-witted evaluator do? Rossi suggests including a service that appears to give something useful to the comparison group but is irrelevant to the study objectives. This kind of action represents a placebo for the service-minded program administrator. Rossi offers other sage advice in a discussion of "soft" evaluations. (A soft evaluation, by definition, is relatively inexpensive, can generally be done rapidly, and often lacks a control or comparison group.) The point he makes is this: if a soft evaluation shows no effect whatsoever, it is not likely that a precise method using a control group would show any more than very slight effects. For example, if you test a large number of Head Start children before and after their experience with the program and their verbal ability does not noticeably improve, it is highly doubtful that a controlled experiment using a group of comparable children not receiving Head Start services would show more than slight difference if any. Rossi wraps up his entire discussion, which could well be expanded into a book on program evaluation research, thus: "From these considerations a strategy for evaluation research emerges. The strategy involves two successive phases: First a 'reconnaissance' phase in which 'soft' correlational, ex post facto or before-and-after designs are used to screen out those programs worth being investigated further. Second 'an experimental' phase in which powerful controlled designs are used to evaluate the differential effectiveness of these programs that survive the first phase. In this connection, it is worthwhile to consider the use of social placebos to achieve more political acceptance for controlled experiments" (p. 232).

Rossi's points are worth stressing because practicality often dictates against the carefully controlled evaluation described in almost all of the articles and books on the subject. Consequently, what is done is just a bit of interpretive reporting, usually too soft for basing administrative decisions regarding programs of any magnitude. Rossi offers the best comprehensive plan I have as yet seen.

Where do we go from here?

The most important question for which good evaluation research should provide at least a part answer is this: "What do we do now?" The final chapter by Sundquist, although it does not deal explicitly with evalution research, is addressed to the question of the future. As he sees it, the new Administration's role is to consolidate those social and economic innovations of the New Frontier and the Great Society acceptable to President Nixon.

In the 4 years or so preceding the publication of this book, there were many experiments, bold beginnings, and promising but not fully tested designs for action. The final measure taken by the previous Administration was the Model Cities program, which appears to be slated for expansion. The future for OEO and its raucous offspring—the Community Action agencies—appears less bright. As a matter of fact, the tenor of *On Fighting Poverty* is that the idea was launched on its nationwide scale precipitously, without much pretesting or any clear idea of the direction it would take. The result was that the "maximum feasible participation" intended turned into "maximum feasible misunderstanding" in many instances.

Some of CAP's manifestations painfully surprised both the Congress and President Johnson. The organization of the poor against the power structure in city after city—merging inevitably into racial conflict in some instances—was neither planned nor foreseen by those who wrote the Economic Opportunity Act. It should be said, however, that the thousand Community Action agencies represent all degrees of quality and nature of management. On the positive side they introduced new services into poor communities—Head Start, legal aid, neighborhood health services, and manpower services. Outreach stations were set up and local subprofessional persons were employed and trained. The positive aspects of CAP have been incorporated into the Model Cities concept. Also, CAP agencies have become a sort of symbol that the government cares about the poor, particularly about those who are members of hitherto neglected minorities: Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Indians.

In the end, however, CAP's effects are at best indirect and, in the case of programs like Head Start, far in the future. The method that appears to be winning ground is the one that emphasizes jobs and income now, that lifts people out of poverty by putting money into their pockets. Jobs, as demonstrated, can do something else besides.[1] They raise people's self-esteem and improve the family's ability to function as an entity. Apparently, whatever effect the culture of poverty has on people can be blunted by employment. Also, undoubtedly the kind of education and training that will enable

poor people and their children to grow into good, well-paying jobs will go a long way toward enabling these people to flow into the mainstream of American life.

I found it interesting to note that the seminar sparking the two books did not explicitly consider the relative merits of various income maintenance plans; guaranteed employment for those able to work drew the widest endorsement. The Family Assistance Plan, which grew out of these deliberations, also makes provisions for those not able to work. But there is a positive incentive to work built into the plan in the form of increased income. Probably the best feature of all is that it includes the working poor and places a premium on family stability.

There are also work incentive features in a similar plan put forth by the President's Commission on Income Maintenance, of which Ben W. Heineman was chairman. This plan puts somewhat less emphasis on the employment goal (recipients do not have to register for employment and training). The difference is deliberate, to obviate whatever coerciveness there might be in the Family Assistance Plan. But the "trade off" may be a lower incentive to work than in the Family Assistance Plan, though higher than in existing welfare legislation. The relative merits of both of these well-formulated plans are destined to be debated in Congress for some time to come.

Because some of the persons attending the seminar disagreed that jobs and income maintenance alone would be enough to eradicate the culture of poverty, other methods were recommended. Among these were intensive casework with individual families by trained and sympathetic counselors, better housing, more realistic education, and social and political participation.

It is precisely in the aspects of increased earning power and improved services that the Social and Rehabilitation Service is placing priority. For many of the poor, all that will be necessary is jobs and income maintenance determined on the basis of *need* (and not on categorical definitions, which, as some critics of current welfare policy have maintained, encourage the growth and perpetuation of households headed by women). To help the hard-core poor will require the use of the full spectrum of increased earning power services (job training, placement, child care, appropriate social and health services, and supplementary income maintenance). SRS plans recognize that poverty has more than one root cause, and the method is to provide for all individually.

[1] *Abraham S. Levine, "Job Training Programs for the Disadvantaged: How Can They Become More Effective?"* Welfare in Review, *Jan.-Feb. 1970, pp. 1-7.*

Public Assistance Statistics

September-October 1969

TOTAL PAYMENTS for the public assistance programs, including vendor payments for medical care, went over the billion dollar mark ($1,040 million) in October 1969, the latest month for which figures are available. This is the highest monthly total since the programs began. Another record was set in October: the total number of recipients of money payments was the highest ever, reaching 10.7 million. In September the total payments (money, medical, emergency assistance, and payments to intermediate care facilities) were $983.9 million and the total number of recipients 10.6 million. In August the total payments were $953.2 million and total number of recipients of money payments 10.4 million. On both counts the totals climbed steadily in the preceding year.

Money payments

About three-fifths of the total money payments in October were for maintenance; about two-fifths for medical assistance. The total for maintenance payments, including payments for emergency assistance and costs in intermediate facilities, was $609.1 million, an increase of $12.1 million over September 1969. The largest increase in October was in the aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) program, which accounted for $7.2 million of the increase. Old-age assistance (OAA) accounted for $2.4 million of the increase; aid to the permanently and

totally disabled (APTD) for $2.1 million; and general assistance (GA) for $633,000. See table for August and September statistics.

Payments for medical care (including payments for medical vendors and for insurance premiums) amounted to $430.8 million in October and $386.8 million in September. The latter figure topped the August total by $19.2 million.

For the first 10 months of 1969, such payments came to $3.9 billion, a 15 percent increase over expenditures in the same months of 1968. Medical assistance under title XIX comprised 93 percent of the total payments for medical care between January and October 1969. Other federally aided programs comprised 5 percent; GA funds, the remaining 2 percent.

The recipients

About 6,962,000 persons—three-fourths of them children—received AFDC in October 1969. About 2,063,000 persons received OAA; about 785,000, APTD; and about 80,400, AB. These figures are all increases over September and August. See table. About 824,000 persons were aided under GA, a slight decrease from September, largely because of a drop in California, but more than in August.

Payments to intermediate care facilities were made for 90,200 aged, blind, or disabled persons in October—an increase of 2,400 over August (the total rose by 1,200 recipients in each month). About 7,100

Change in public assistance: Recipients, payments, and money payments per recipient, August, September, and October 1969

Program	August 1969	September 1969	October 1969
Recipients of money payments			
Old-age assistance	2,044,000	2,052,000	2,063,000
Aid to the blind	80,100	80,200	80,400
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	770,000	777,000	785,000
Aid to families with dependent children			
Families	1,714,000	1,749,000	1,786,000
Persons	6,725,000	6,851,000	6,962,000
Children	4,998,000	5,092,000	5,176,000
General assistance			
Cases	399,000	410,000	407,000
Persons	807,000	827,000	824,000
Assistance payments (in 000's)			
Total	$953,188	$983,874	$1,039,991
Money payments, total	563,237	573,495	585,926
Old-age assistance	145,886	148,848	151,248
Aid to the blind	7,676	7,777	7,876
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	67,096	68,196	70,300
Aid to families with dependent children	303,088	309,274	316,469
General assistance	39,491	39,400	40,033
Medical assistance, total	367,610	386,778	430,845
Medical assistance	341,746	360,953	404,211
Medical assistance for the aged	4,853	5,440	6,235
Other federally aided	15,183	15,238	13,951
General assistance	5,828	5,147	6,448
Emergency assistance	945	1,565	1,174
Payments to intermediate care facilities	21,396	22,036	22,046
Money payments per recipient			
Old-age assistance	$71.35	$72.50	$73.30
Aid to the blind	95.80	97.05	97.95
Aid to the permanently and totally disabled	87.10	87.75	89.50
Aid to families with dependent children			
Average per family	176.80	176.80	177.20
Average per person	45.05	45.15	45.45
General assistance			
Average per case	98.95	96.00	98.35
Average per person	48.90	47.65	48.55

families with children received emergency assistance in the 15 States reporting in October, as compared with 7,900 and 7,600 in the two preceding months.

Legislative and administrative changes

Legislative and administrative changes affected the programs in a few States in September and October:

▶Wisconsin terminated the unemployed parent segment of AFDC, the eligibility of families with stepfathers, and the eligibility of children 18 years of age and over.

▶Texas increased maximum payments in the adult programs and raised the percentage of need met under AFDC from 50 to 75. As a result, the average payment per recipient rose from $3 to $5 for the adult programs and by nearly $9 for AFDC.

▶Connecticut included a school clothing allowance in the AFDC payment for September and increased payments to nursing and rest homes, some retroactively. As a result of the second action, the average payment per recipient for the adult categories increased from $12 to $18.

▶Michigan's average AFDC payment in September dropped, following a comparable increase in August because of a special allowance for clothing.

▶Pennsylvania increased rates paid to nursing homes. As a result, average payments in the adult categories, particularly OAA, went up.

▶Tennessee began operating a medical assistance program under title XIX in October, bringing to 45 the number of jurisdictions with such programs.

Material in this article is based on NCSS Report A-2 (8/69), NCSS Report A-2 (9/69), and NCSS Report A-2 (10/69). Copies of these reports, which contain detailed information on the public assistance programs, are available from the National Center for Social Statistics, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. 20201.

Book NOTES

English Debate On Poor Law Reform

Society and Pauperism: English Ideas on Poor Relief, 1795-1834, J. R. Poynter, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1969, 367 pp., $7.50.

HERE IS an excellent book for the specialist in welfare history. The title of itself is historically significant. Until the 20th century, society was little concerned about ending poverty. Earlier generations of Englishmen (and Americans) regarded poverty as part of the natural order or as ordained by rigid economic laws. Concern centered on economic dependency, or pauperism as it was called, a condition at once deplored and denounced.

Today, dependency is still deplored and denounced. But many persons are convinced that poverty can no longer be tolerated even if some degree of dependency must. The persuasive fact behind this change of opinion is the affluence of our society. As Robert Bremner has noted, "By the start of the twentieth century, at least in fortunately endowed regions of the world, industry and agriculture had advanced to a point where there was at least a favorable relationship between human needs and the possibility of satisfying them." *(From the Depths,* New York: New York University Press, 1956, p. 128.)

The society J. R. Poynter studies in relation to the reform of the English Poor Law in 1834 was far from affluent. England's great period of prosperity occurred later in the 19th century, after its commitment to industry and its reliance on the importation of food and raw materials. The years covered by Poynter's study were marked by two serious economic depressions—one in the 1790's; the other in the years 1816-18. Nor were the 1820's uniformly prosperous, particularly for agriculture. During these bad times, the 200-year old Elizabethan Poor Law first came under serious attack. Poynter's aim—admirably achieved—is to analyze the rationale of this attack.

One of the most important facts emerging from this history is that most of the comments on pauperism and the poor law were secular in tone, even though a good many of the critics were clergymen. Calls to exercise the virtue of charity were almost completely absent from these lengthy debates. In contrast to the pronouncement of the Poor Law Commissioners in 1834 against the

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Corrections

Two items in the November-December 1969 issue of *Welfare in Review* should be emended as follows:

In the article, "Predicting Use of Public Assistance," in the last paragraph on page 14, the second sentence should read: Seven recipient families were headed by unemployed men but only *two* of the nonrecipient families. The third sentence should read: Seven *nonrecipient* but only four *recipient* husbands worked over 40 hours a week.

In the article, "The Long Road to Unemployment Insurance," in the second paragraph, page 27, "European approach" and "American approach" should be reversed.

poor law as a "bounty on indolence and vice," Poynter found that earlier critics rarely claimed that vice was the only cause of poverty and quite often argued that vice might well result from poverty.

English thought, in the period covered by Poynter, was permeated, if not dominated, by the new and "dismal science" of economics. As he points out, Smith, Ricardo, and Malthus each emphasized the scarcity of resources and the tendency of wages to fall to a subsistence level. However much they might deplore the condition of the poor (and they did), they concluded that no means for large-scale improvement were at hand. But, of the three, Malthus was by far the most gloomy and, for a time, the most influential critic of the poor law.

Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations* was published in 1776, was mainly concerned with releasing business and industry from government regulation. His emphasis on freedom of contract and individual liberty led him to denounce the poor law's settlement requirements as an unjust and economically undesirable interference with the mobility of labor.

Malthus went much farther in his attack on the poor law. Population, he reasoned, unless checked by war, pestilence, or moral restraint (late marriages, for instance), would overtake the food supply. As long as the poor law remained on the books, men lacking resources to support families would marry. The poor law, therefore, tended to increase population without increasing the supply of food. The law should be abolished; even voluntary charity should be strictly controlled.

Ricardo, though an abolitionist, was not so rigid as Malthus. He argued that the distribution of money—even to paupers—would stimulate production. And he introduced the idea of "new wants" in the lower classes as conducive to increasing their living standards. Yet he was convinced that the poor law tended "to call away the exertions of labour from every object, except that of providing mere subsistence . . . until at last all classes should be infected with the plague of universal poverty."

The drive for abolition of the poor law, immediate or gradual, reached its high point in the depression years after the Napoleonic wars—ironically, as Poynter notes, at the very time it would have been impossible to take such severe action. Poynter's emphasis on the rise and decline of the movement for abolition is, however, very judicious. Until his painstaking research and analysis, historians have viewed the reform of 1834 as the harsh culmination of the preceding debate. Although Poynter does not deny the harshness of the reform, he wisely reminds us that it was *reform* not *abolition.*

Poynter is equally judicious in his assessment of the influence of Bentham on the recommendations made by the Poor Law Commissioners in 1834. Bentham, best known for his dictum that the purpose of legislation should be "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," drew up an elaborate scheme for the care of paupers. Written in the 1790's at a time when alms or workhouses were almost universally discredited, Bentham advocated bigger and better workhouses. He also argued for greatly expanded national administrative control over the houses and other forms of poor relief. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, of course, moved in both directions. Equally if not more significant was the controlling element that was Bentham's starting point, namely, the doctrine of "less eligibility" in relieving the indigent. Indolence and indigence would be encouraged, Bentham argued, if the "condition of persons maintained at the public charge were *in general* rendered *more* eligible [desirable] upon the whole, than that of persons maintained at their own charge, those of the latter number not excepted, whose condition is least eligible." Although there is no foolproof evidence of Bentham's influence on the Poor Law Commissioners (the plan was never published), internal and circumstantial evidence, Poynter argues persuasively, suggests that such influence was present.

Very stimulating is Poynter's discussion of the prominence given in the report of the Poor Law Commissioners and by historians to the supplementation of wages as arranged by the officials at Speenhamland in 1796. The Speenhamland system was, he points out, only one of many methods of relief used by local poor law administrators during the years of economic depression.

The research represented in *Society and Pauperism* is impressive; the book's organization and style, commendable. It is a valuable addition to the history of social welfare.

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Social and Rehabilitation Service

The following publications were prepared for the National Citizens Conference on Rehabilitation of the Disabled and Disadvantaged, held in Washington, D.C., June 24-27, 1969.

Consumer involvement in rehabilitation, by Daniel Thursz. 50 pp., 35 cents. SRS-114 1969.

Delivering rehabilitation services, by Herbert Rusalem and Roland Baxt. 73 pp., 40 cents. SRS-116 1969.

Financing rehabilitation services, by William C. Copeland. 36 pp., 25 cents. SRS-115 1969.

The goal is: mobility, by Ruth Lauder. 72 pp., 40 cents. SRS-113 1969.

Legal rights of the disabled and disadvantaged, by Richard C. Allen. 102 pp., 50 cents. SRS-117 1969.

People power: a report of the conference. 158 pp., $1.25. SRS-112 1969.

Other Government

Changing characteristics of the Negro population, by Daniel O. Price. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce. (1960 Census monograph series.) 268 pp., $2.75. C3.30:N31. Describes the demographic characteristics and economic status of the Negro population since 1870.

The impact of Medicare: an annotated bibliography of selected sources, by Mary McGee. Office of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. 1969, 60 pp., 40 cents. SS 69-67 (12-69). Contains references from material published between August 1965 and December 1968.

Knowledge into action: improving the Nation's use of the social sciences. Report of the Special Commission on the Social Sciences of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation. 1969, 95 pp., 75 cents. NSB 69-3. Presents the thinking and recommendations of a commission set up to explore improved use of the social sciences by the professions, the Federal Government, business, labor, community organizations, and the general public.

Non-Government

Direct inquiries and orders to the publisher or issuing agency.

The billion $ swindle: frauds against the elderly, by Amran Ducovny. Fleet Press, 156 5th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10010. 1969, 252 pp., $5.95. Exposes schemes to bilk the elderly and presents plans to protect them from medical quackery, dishonest preburial and real estate contracts, and other forms of fraud.

Can public welfare keep pace? Malvin Morton, ed. Columbia University Press, 440 W. 110th St., New York, N.Y. 10025. 1969, 175 pp., $6.50. Contains papers presented by the American Public Welfare Association at the 1968 forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare.

Changing the delinquent . . . a practical approach, by Louis Tomaino. University of Texas, Hogg Foundation of Mental Health, Austin, Tex. 78712. 1969, 110 pp., $2. Offers a manual for juvenile probation and parole officers.

Children against schools: education of the delinquent, disturbed, disruptive, Paul S. Graubard, ed. Follett Educational Corporation, 201 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill. 60606. 1969, 376 pp., $6.75. Provides information about the field of teaching such children, including the results of empirical studies.

Cure for chaos: fresh solutions to social problems through the systems approach, by Simon Rano. David McKay Co., Inc., 750 3d Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017. 1969, 116 pp., $3.95. Presents a nontechnical description of the systems approach, its uses, importance, and limitations.

Death in the Sanchez family, by Oscar Lewis. Random House, 30 E. 60th St., New York, N. Y. 10023. 1969, 119 pp., $4.95. Describes "how the poor die."

Decision making and age, A. T. Welford and James E. Birren, eds. (Interdisciplinary topics in gerontology, vol. 4. NATO Advanced Study Institute, University of Thessaloniki, Aug. 14-17, 1967.) S. Karger (Albert J. Phiebig), Box 352 White Plains, N.Y. 10602. 1969, 166 pp., $10.55. "Deals with the application of basic information and techniques in an analysis of processes involved in decision making, and how these change with age."

Delinquency in three cultures, by Carl M. Rosenquist and Edwin I. Megargee. University of Texas Press, Austin, Tex. 78712. 1969, 554 pp., $10. Compares the differences between delinquents and other young people in three cultural groups: Anglo-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Mexicans.

Disability and rehabilitation: legal, clinical, and self-concepts and measurement, by Saad N. Nagi. Ohio State University Press, 2070 Neil Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43210. 1969, 329 pp., $10. Studies workmen's compensation, disability insurance programs under Social Security, and rehabilitation.

Edwin E. Witte, cautious reformer, by Theron F. Schlabach. State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 816 State St., Madison, Wis. 53706. 1969, 290 pp., $5.95. Presents the biography of the man known as the father of Social Security.

Effective public relations for community groups, by Howard Levine and Carol Levine. Association Press, 291 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10007. 1969, 192 pp., $5.95. Adapts theories and methods used in business, education, and industry to the requirements of voluntary associations and special service agencies.

Federal relief administration and the arts: the origins and administrative history of the Works Progress Administration, by William F. McDonald. Ohio State University Press, Columbus, Ohio 43210. 1969, 869 pp., $17.50. Discusses the philosophy of social service and white-collar relief and presents a detailed study of the WPA and its programs.

The future of the family, by Richard E. Farson and others. Family Service Association of America, 44 E. 23d St., New York, N.Y. 10010. 1969, 131 pp., $3.35. Discusses and makes predictions about the family from the points of view of philosophy and the behavioral, social, and physical sciences.

Justice and the law in the Mobilization for Youth experience, Harold H. Weissman, ed. Association Press, 291 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10007. 1969, 220 pp., $4.95. Includes chapters on legal assistance, housing, welfare rights, family law, and the poor. (Vol. 4 of the New Social Work Series noted in the New Publications of the November-December 1969 *Welfare in Review.*)

Juvenile offenders for a thousand years: selected readings from Anglo-Saxon times to 1900, Wiley B. Sanders, ed. University of North Carolina Press, Box 510, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514. 1970, 453 pp., $12.50. Presents selections from British and American documents and source material.

La Raza: the Mexican Americans, by Stan Steiner. Harper & Row, 49 E. 33d St., New York, N.Y. 10016. 1969, 418 pp., $8.50. Describes the world of an impoverished minority group hoping for progress.

Let them eat promises: the politics of hunger in America, by Nick Kotz. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632. 1969, 272 pp., $6.95. Describes the "discovery of hunger as a national political issue in 1967, and the ensuing struggle both in and out of government to do something about it."

Life styles in the black ghetto, by William McCord and others. W. W. Norton and Co., 55 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003. 1969, 334 pp., $6.95. Through interviews, some held during riots, analyzes the conditions and problems of urban Negroes.

The multiply handicapped child, James M. Wolf and Robert M. Anderson, eds. Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 301 E. Lawrence Ave., Springfield, Ill. 62703. 1969, 468 pp., $21. Studies the education and medical problems of children with several handicaps; the incidence of such children; and the evaluation of such children learning to cope with their problems.

New York University Biennial Conference on Charitable Foundations. **Proceedings of the ninth biennial conference, May 1969,** Henry Sellin ed. Matthew Bender and Co., 1275 Broadway, Albany, N.Y. 12201. 1969, 307 pp., $14.50. Explores the management of foundations, their potentials, contributions to the community, and future.

Objectivity in social research, by Gunnar Myrdal. (1967 Wimmer lecture.) Pantheon Books, 437 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022. 1969, 111 pp., $1.95. Questions the "myth of objectivity" in social research.

Our criminal society, by Edwin M. Schur. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632. 1969, 244 pp., $6.95. Examines crime patterns, poverty and violence, "respectable crime," and the dangers of overlegislation.

Perspectives in community mental health, Arthur J. Bindman and Allen D. Spiegel, eds. Aldine Publishing Co., 529 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60605. 1970, 718 pp., $15. Contains articles on the meaning of community mental health and on planning and development, methods, professional and nonprofessional mental health workers, and research and evaluation.

Politics and discrimination, by Lester C. Thurow. Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. 1969, 214 pp., $6.75. Presents an econometric approach to the problems of income distribution and an evaluation of methods of changing the distribution.

Politics and the ghettos, Roland L. Warren, ed. Atherton Press, 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011. 1969, 214 pp., $7.95. Presents papers on the "broad policy-making processes that have led to the development of today's ghettos . . . and permit their perpetuation," prepared by 13 specialists for the 1968 Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare.

The public employment service in transition, 1933-1968: evolution of a placement service into a manpower agency, by Leonard P. Adams. New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. 1969, 246 pp., $6.50. Gives the early history of the U.S. Employment Service and points out the present emphasis on work with poor, disadvantaged, and long-term unemployed persons.

Race and poverty: the economics of discrimination, John F. Cain, ed. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliff, N.J. 07632. 1969, 186 pp., $5.95. Describes the debilitating economic effects of discrimination in housing, the labor market, and education.

Social medicine in Eastern Europe: the organization of health services and the education of medical personnel in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, by E. Richard Weinerman and Shirley B. Weinerman. Harvard University Press, 79 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138. 1969, 201 pp., $6.50. Notes

similarities and differences among the socialized health programs of the three countries and compares them with the health systems of Western countries.

Social science and social purpose, by T. S. Simey. Schocken Books, 67 Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. 1969, 241 pp., $5.50. Concerns important issues in public policy formation in the large modern society.

Social structures and systems: a sociological overview, by William M. Dobriner. Goodyear Publishing Co., Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632. 1969, 273 pp., $3.95. Tries to clarify some basic sociological theories and to apply them to present social problems.

Social work practice, 1969. Columbia University Press, 440 W. 110th St., New York, N.Y. 10025. 1969, 216 pp., $7.50. Contains papers from the 96th annual forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare, May 1969.

Sociological theory: an introduction, Walter L. Wallace, ed. Aldine Publishing Co., 320 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill. 60606. 1969, 296 pp., $8.50. Contains an essay on 11 theoretical viewpoints followed by readings from major theorists.

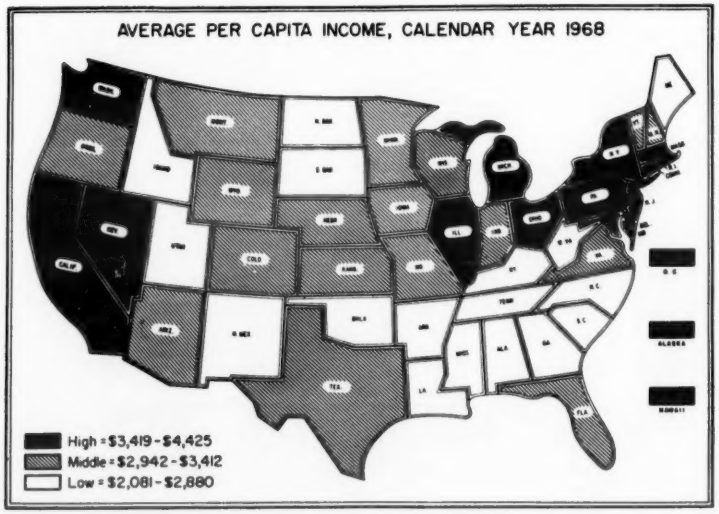
Toward social welfare, by Clair Wilcox. Richard D. Irwin, Inc. 1818 Ridge Road, Homewood, Ill. 60430. 1969, 402 pp., $7.95. Presents an analysis of programs and proposals that attack poverty, insecurity, and unequal opportunity.

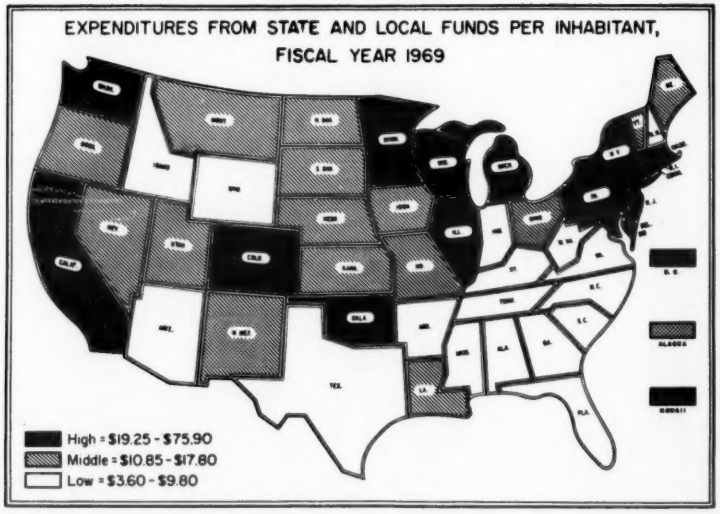
Urban planning for social welfare: a model cities approach, by Edward M. Kaitz and Herbert H. Hyman. Praeger Publishing Co., 111 4th Avenue., New York, N.Y. 10003. 1970, 241 pp., $15. Describes planning difficulties and offers a practical planning process for cities of different sizes and complexity.

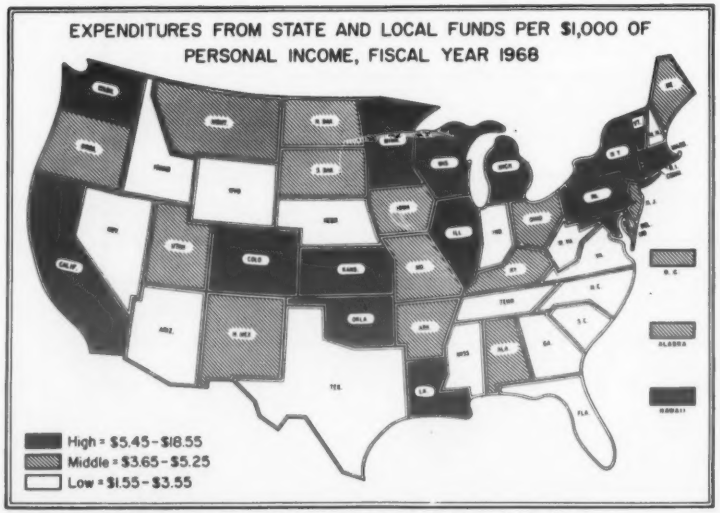
Welfare economics: an assessment, by Edward J. Mishan. North-Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam, Netherlands. 1969, 83 pp., $4.75. Evaluates the status of well-known welfare propositions and the various methods that economists derive from them.

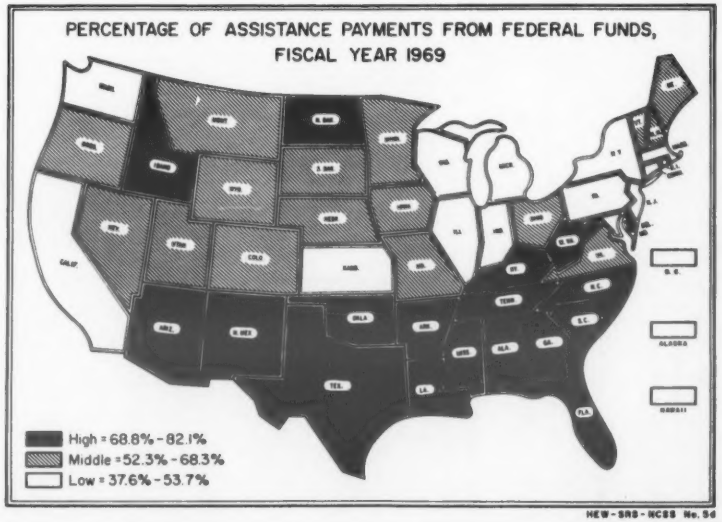
Welfare medical care: an experiment, by Charles Goodrich and others. Harvard University Press, 79 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138. 1970, 343 pp., $7. Reports on a New York Hospital-Cornell Project that studied the ability of a teaching hospital to provide complete medical care to public assistance recipients and compared the use, cost, and quality of such care with that provided to a control group under the existing system in New York City.

SELECTED FISCAL DATA RELATING TO PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS 1/






EXPENDITURES FROM STATE AND LOCAL FUNDS PER $1,000 OF PERSONAL INCOME, FISCAL YEAR 1968
High = $5.45 - $18.55
Middle = $3.65 - $5.25
Low = $1.55 - $3.55



1/ INCLUDES SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND GENERAL ASSISTANCE.

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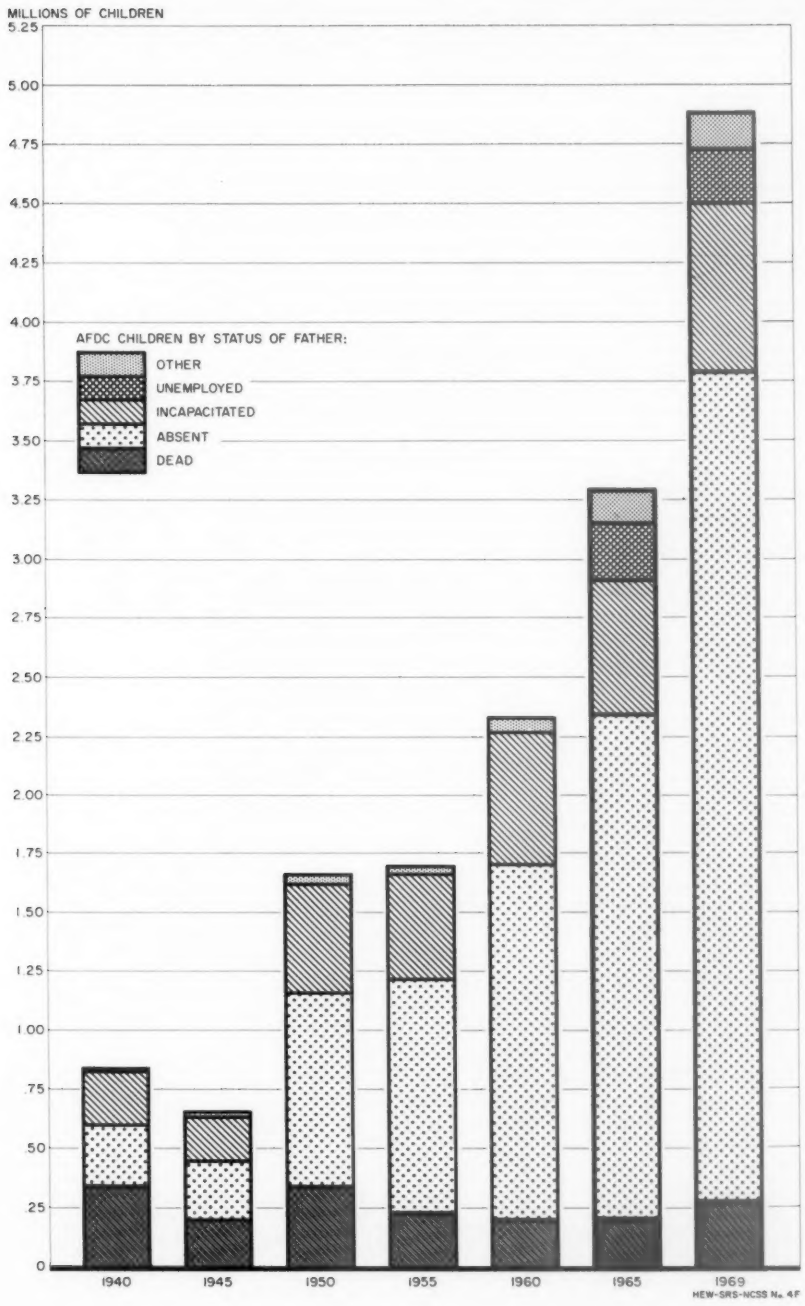
NUMBER OF CHILDREN RECEIVING AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN MONEY PAYMENTS BY STATUS OF FATHER, JUNE OF SELECTED YEARS, 1940 TO DATE



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